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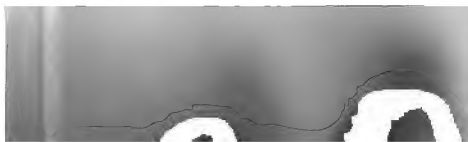
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***ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.***

*Photogravure after a photograph from life.*





# *The MAKING OF AMERICA*

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Robert Marvin La Follette

Chairman

William H. Taft

Charles Diggins

Editor

**VOL. I**

**The People and their Social Life**

The Making of America Co.

Chicago



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## CONTENTS

### VOLUME I.

#### THE PEOPLE AND THEIR SOCIAL LIFE.

The American People. BY JOHN R. COMMONS.....	1
The Causes of Race Superiority. BY EDWARD A. ROSS.....	48
Educational Resources of the Community. BY SAMUEL T. DUTTON.....	69
Fundamental Principles of American Education. BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.....	78
American Reforms in Education. BY CHARLES W. ELIOT.....	89
The Public School System. BY R. E. HUGHES.....	95
The American Schoolboy. BY LUTHER H. GULICK.....	125
Industrial and Technical Training in Popular Education. BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT.....	133
The American College. BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.....	154
Future of the Small College. BY WILLIAM R. HARPER.....	164
American Universities. BY ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.....	186
American University Ideals. BY EMIL G. HIRSCH.....	197
The Advantages of the Catholic University. BY JOHN F. MULLANEY.....	207
University Training for Business Men. BY SIMON N. PATTEN.....	218

## IV

## CONTENTS

The Educated Man and the State.	
BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT .....	234
Democracy and Education.	
BY VIDA D. SCUDDER .....	245
Education and Religion.	
BY ARTHUR T. HADLEY .....	257
Educational Philanthropy.	
BY ROBERT A. WOODS .....	264
American College Architecture.	
BY ALFRED D. F. HAMLIN .....	271
The Architecture of our Government Buildings.	
BY WILLIAM MARTIN AIKEN .....	279
Modern Sky Scrapers.	
BY ARTHUR W. FRENCH .....	285
The American Hotel.	
BY WALTER A. WASHBURNE .....	298
The Theatre in America.	
BY OTIS SKINNER .....	307
The Influence of Music Upon National Life.	
BY ARNOLD J. GANTVOORT .....	320
American Art.	
BY FRANK EDWIN ELWELL .....	331
American Literature.	
BY WILLIAM S. WALSH .....	349
The American Newspaper.	
BY MEDILL McCORMICK .....	367
Progress in the Printing and Publishing Industry.	
BY WILLIAM S. ROSSITER .....	380
American Advertising.	
BY A. L. THOMAS .....	387
The American Woman.	
BY HUGO MUNSTERBERG .....	402

## INTRODUCTION.

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A publication which assembles the best thought of recognized authority on the commercial industrial, political, and social development of the United States, is an epitome of our national life.

The Making of America aims to present, not only all phases of our growth, all important achievements contributing to it, and impartially to discuss the complex problems ever pressing for solution, but broadly to make the work, as a whole, reflect the true spirit of this mighty nation, and the true character and nature of the forces within, which are working out its destiny.

As a source of exact information—marshalling the vital facts which have been permanently wrought into the lives of the American people—this publication, the only one of its kind, will have the highest educational value. But beyond and above this, it is believed that taken all together, vividly portraying as it does the making of America, it must carry with it every where, its impressive lesson of patriotism and its earnest appeal for the higher ideals in citizenship. For, after all, the glory and achievement of our country is men, not things. We build railroads and bridges and factories and markets, and outstrip the nations of the earth in trade and commerce. And what does it all signify? Is it the mere indication of the fatness of our land? or has it a deeper meaning? Manifestly these material things represent the energy, the ingenuity, the intelligence, the courage, of four generations of men, inspired with the conviction that they were born free and equal. Take the spirit of our free institutions out of the life of this nation and we would be compelled to re-write the history of our material progress. No just conception of the making of America from the beginning, no rational understanding of her pres-



ent and future, can ignore the relation of man to the material development of our country and the influence of modern business methods upon the citizen and his government.

Consider, then, the making of America in fact. We are advancing into the second century of our national life. The past is crowded with great achievement. In the succession of events a continent of wilderness has been transformed, and in its place are cultivated fields and factories throbbing with life and power, and churches, and schools, and universities, and libraries, and temples of art, and happy homes. We possess a domain greater in extent than all Europe, capable of sustaining by agriculture alone, more than a thousand million people. In the first hundred years of our national life our population has increased from less than four million to more than sixty five, and by the close of another century, it is estimated that it will number at least five hundred million.

Our industrial and commercial progress has amazed and alarmed the competing countries of the world. We stand foremost among the nations of the earth in agriculture, in mines and mining, in manufactures, and in commerce. There is nothing to approach it in all history.

Yet the American people should never forget that it was not for all this wonderful development, all this marvelous acquisition of wealth and territory, that America was made. It was not because they saw the America of the twentieth century outstripping all other nations in worldly power and prosperity, that our forefathers laid the foundations of this republic, amidst the peril and havoc of revolution. They proclaimed their purpose to the world, giving form and expression to an ideal in government, for which men had been groping in all the ages past,—an ideal which must ever remain a sacred trust for all the generations to come. Never were these words more precious to us than now:

“We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain, inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever

any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect safety and happiness."

As we build upon the basic principle of democracy, as we preserve the inalienable rights of all men, we build to endure with time. Commercial and industrial progress are essential to national greatness. But the life of our republic is rooted deeper than material things. If this be not true, then it has within it the seeds of certain decay. Our mountains are rich in gold and silver and iron and coal. Our valleys and slopes and boundless prairies yield their unfailing harvests. Our woods and lakes and rivers are all very dear to us. But we should remember that these gifts of nature abound everywhere, are to be found in every land. It is our sacred constitutional liberty, and all that it signifies to an American citizen, that sweetens the air we breathe, and makes our great possessions more attractive to the world's homeseekers than those of all other lands. From the beginning of national life, there have come to us, out of all the countries of the world, liberty loving people, seeking political freedom and equality of opportunity for themselves and for their children. And this great tide of immigration has been quickly merged with the native born American into one people, by common purpose and unity of ideal.

So long as industry, thrift, prudence, and honesty underlie our vast material development, there is nothing to fear in the making of America. Every man who loves his country must rejoice to see those basic qualities of good citizenship rewarded. There can be no national prosperity without individual prosperity. Property, whether the modest home of the artisan or farmer, or the great fortune of the masters of finance, if it be honorably acquired and lawfully used, is a contribution to the stability of government, as well as to material progress.

In the early life of America, the pioneer found a wide field for the development of native ability. The new world lay all about him. It offered freedom of opportunity. It ap-

pealed to his invention, his ambition, his courage. It made him self reliant, resourceful. Necessity spurred him to constant activity. There was room and call for the best that was in him. He developed on all sides. His individuality was marked. He was a free man, well rounded, full orbed. In the business world there was the same independence. The business man could exercise a choice. He could achieve success and be neighborly. Men of energy and power build fortunes on the same legitimate lines and by the same honorable means as lesser fortunes were made.

Every thinking man, however, must be impressed with the radical change in the methods of attaining wealth—almost within a generation of time—and with the profound and serious effect of this change upon both the social and political life of the nation.

The individual, as an independent business factor, has practically disappeared from the commercial world, and in his stead stand vast organizations of corporate combination. The business man formerly gave his individuality to the business he conducted, stamped his integrity strongly upon it. High moral attributes were essential to business success, a part of its capital, and the honor of every business transaction more precious than its profits.

In like manner the employe preserved his identity, and impressed his personality upon every part of the business which passed through his hands. He shared in giving the business reputation and took pride in it. He found in it his incentive and his opportunity for advancement. Faithful service was recognized and rewarded, and men of capacity and power could hope to mount to the top.

But mark the change: With the centralized control of business by great combinations and systems, men become mere cogs in the wheels of a complicated mechanism, where individuality and business conscience are merged into the impersonal, intangible entity of the organization. It is becoming more difficult to-day for young men of education and ability to secure merited recognition in their chosen avocations. Workmen and employes have no longer the same hope of becoming managers and proprietors. Their daily task lacks the inspi-

ration born of faith in securing well earned promotion. The great body of the people of this country begin life with no better inheritance than health and strength and hope. And that is the best fortune. Hard work never breaks the spirit of the man whose face is lifted to the heights beyond. Advancement, promotion, a better chance next month, next year, quickens the lagging pace, and cheers the weary hour. But woe to us when men lose faith, when youth may not hope to rise above the dead level where the father laid down his hard life.

It needs not a philosopher to estimate the influence of this tendency upon the character of the men who constitute so large a part of the nation, and who determine to such an extent the average standard of our citizenship.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

As an abstract economic proposition, it may be that the increased production and profits of a few great combinations should cause a more rapid development and cheaper production than under conditions where the same business is conducted by a large number of independent concerns or individuals. But the real prosperity of a nation, especially of a republic, must be based upon a general, even though moderate, success coming to the largest possible number.

The lack of personal identity and the absence of moral responsibility for the acts of the corporation, renders it a convenient cover for dishonest manipulation. For this reason it has been made an instrumentality for the most extensive swindling operations known in the history of finance. Corporations within other corporations, owned by the same men, contracting with themselves, robbing stockholders, bondholders, and policyholders—resorting to the shift of a receivership when the right combination can be made—these are some of the modern methods of creating wealth. They constitute a distinct menace to republican institutions, as well as to business integrity and confidence.

The merging of business is promoted directly and indirectly by the railroads. They prefer large consignments of freight, and large traffic transactions to small ones. Uncontrolled,



it was inevitable that the railroads should favor large shippers and foster business consolidation. The railroads themselves were rapidly eliminating competition in transportation charges. Within less than a decade ninety per cent of the vital railway mileage of the United States has been brought within half a dozen group organizations, going far toward effecting a single control.

Observe how vast and far reaching in consequence these modern business methods are in fact: Against the natural laws of trade and commerce is set the arbitrary will of a few masters of special privilege. The principal transportation lines of the country are so operated as to eliminate competition. Between railroads and other monopolies, controlling great natural resources and most of the necessities of life, there exists a community of interest in all cases, and an identity of ownership in many. Blind, indeed, even the ultra conservative citizen who does not see that, unless there be prompt and effective control of these powerful organizations, we are already at the end of all commercial and industrial independence in this country.

These great combinations are closely associated in business for business reasons. They are also closely associated in politics for business reasons. Together they constitute a complete system. Together they work to defraud the public of its rights, defeat legislation for the general good, and secure laws to promote private interests.

The basic principle of our government is the will of the people. The representative elected by the people should be the people's representative. If the city alderman, the state legislator, the member of congress, or the United States senator represents privilege, he is not the servant of the people, but the servant of the special interest he represents. The people are not represented, but wealth in combination.

It is the manifest duty of the government to preserve its representative character. To do this, it must protect itself against the wrongful use of money and favors by the owners of special privileges. This is the righteous demand of the citizen, for whom our government was ordained. It is cowardice to say that the undertaking is too great, that the opposing forces

are too powerful, that it is impossible for the government to master this enemy which is undermining republican institutions.

A great English divine has said:

"To despair of America would be to despair of humanity, for it would show that men, after all, have no capacity for governing themselves."

In a democracy, more than under any other form of government, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The citizen who thinks the constitution alone will preserve everlasting good government is mistaken. A great nation has great and growing problems, and each day and generation has its duty to perform, its obligation of citizenship to meet.

America is not made. It is in the making. It has to-day to meet an impending crisis, as menacing as any in the nation's history. It does not call a sound to arms, but it is none the less a call to patriotism and to higher ideals in citizenship, a call for the preservation of the representative character of government itself. If we would preserve the spirit as well as the form of our free institutions, the patriotic citizenship of the country must take its stand, and demand of wealth that it shall conduct its business lawfully; that it shall no longer furnish the most flagrant examples of persistent violation of statutes, while invoking the protection of the courts; that it shall not destroy the equality of opportunity, the right to the pursuit of happiness, guaranteed by the constitution; that it shall keep its powerful hands off from legislative manipulation; that it shall not corrupt, but shall obey, the government that guards and protects its rights.

Mere passive good citizenship is not enough. Men must be aggressive for what is right, if government is to be saved from those who are aggressive for what is wrong. The nation has awakened somewhat slowly to a realization of its peril, but it has responded with gathering momentum. The reform movement now has the support of all the moral forces that the solution of a great problem can command. The few pioneer journals and journalists that at first stood alone are now reinforced by the best periodicals of the country. Churches are preaching the gospel of good citizenship. It is a popular

platform theme. Universities and common schools are beginning to recognize their first obligation to the state. Incorruptible leaders are replacing dishonest politicians. It has been happily suggested that it may become fashionable to be interested in civics and to be a good citizen. The outlook is hopeful. There is no room for pessimism. Every man should have faith. Advance ground has been secured which will never be surrendered by the American people. There is work for every one. The field is large. It is a glorious service,—this service for the country. The call comes to every citizen. It is an unending struggle to make and keep government truly representative. Each one should count it a patriotic duty to build at least a part of his life into the life of his country, to do his share in the making of America according to the plan of the fathers.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert M. La Follette". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

## THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

BY JOHN R. COMMONS.

[John Rogers Commons, economist; born Darke county, O., October 13, 1862; graduated from Oberlin, 1888; A. M., 1890; student Johns Hopkins, 1888-90; professor sociology Oberlin college, 1892; Indiana university, 1893-95; Syracuse university, 1895-99; expert agent industrial commission, 1902; assistant secretary National Civic Federation, 1903; professor of sociology, University of Wisconsin. Author: *The Distribution of Wealth; Social Reform and the Church; Proportional Representation*, etc.] Copyright 1903, 1904 by The Chautauqua Press

"All men are created equal." So wrote Thomas Jefferson and so agreed with him the delegates from the American colonies. But we must not press too closely nor insist on the literal interpretation of the words. They were not publishing a scientific treatise on human nature, nor describing the physical, intellectual and moral qualities of different races and different individuals, but they were bent upon an intensely practical object in politics and government. They desired to sustain before the world the cause of independence by such appeals as they thought would have effect; and certainly the appeal to the sense of equal rights before God and the law is the most powerful that can be addressed to the masses of any people. This is the very essence of our American democracy, that one man should have just as large opportunity as any other man to make the most of himself, to come forward and achieve high standing in any calling to which he is inclined. To do this the bars of privilege have one by one been thrown down, the suffrage has been extended to every man, and public office has been opened to anyone who can persuade his fellow voters or their representatives to select him.

But there is another side to the successful operations of democracy. It is not enough that equal opportunity to participate in making and enforcing the laws should be vouchsafed to all—it is equally important that all should be capable of such participation. The individuals, or the classes, or the races, who through any mental or moral defect, are unable to assert themselves beside other individuals, classes, or races, and to enforce their right to an equal voice in determining

the laws and conditions which govern all, are just as much deprived of the privilege as though they were excluded by the constitution. In the case of individuals, when they sink below the level of joint participation, we recognize them as belonging to a defective, or criminal or pauper class, and we provide for them, not on the basis of their rights, but on the basis of charity or punishment. Such classes are exceptions in point of numbers, and we do not feel that their non participation is a flaw in the operations of democratic government. But when a social class or an entire race is unable to command that share in conducting government to which the laws entitle it, we recognize at once that democracy as a practical institution has in so far broken down, and that, under the forms of democracy, there has developed a class oligarchy or a race oligarchy.

Two things, therefore, are necessary for a democratic government such as that which the American people have set before themselves; first, equal opportunities before the law; second, equal ability of classes and races to use those opportunities. If the first is lacking we have legal oligarchy; if the second is lacking we have actual oligarchy disguised as democracy.

Now, it must be observed that, compared with the first two centuries of our nation's history, the present generation is somewhat shifting its ground regarding democracy. While it can never rightly be charged that our forefathers overlooked the inequalities of races and individuals, yet, more than the present generation, did they regard with hopefulness the educational value of democracy. True enough, they said, the black man is not equal to the white man, but once free him from his legal bonds, open up the schools, the professions, the businesses, and the offices to those of his number who are most aspiring, and you will find that, as a race, he will advance favorably in comparison with his white fellow citizens.

It is now more than thirty years since these opportunities and educational advantages were given to the negro, not only on equal terms but actually on terms of preference over the whites, and the fearful collapse of the experiment is recognized even by its partisans as something that was inevitable in the





nature of the race at that stage of its development. The race question in America has found its most intense expression in the relations between the white and the negro races, and has there shown itself to be the most fundamental of all American social and political problems. For it was this race question that precipitated the civil war, with the ominous problems that have followed upon that catastrophe; and it is this same race problem that now diverts attention from the treatment of those pressing economic problems of taxation, corporations, trusts and labor organizations which themselves originated in the civil war. The race problem in the south is only one extreme of the same problem in the great cities of the north, where popular government, as our forefathers conceived it, has been displaced by one man power, and where a profound distrust of democracy is taking hold upon the educated and property holding classes who fashion public opinion.

This changing attitude toward the educational value of self government has induced a more serious study of the nature of democratic institutions and of the classes and races which are called upon to share in them. As a people whose earlier hopes have been shocked by the hard blows of experience, we are beginning to pause and take invoice of the heterogeneous stock of humanity that we have admitted to the management of our great political enterprise. We are trying to look beneath the surface and to inquire whether there are not factors of heredity and race more fundamental than those of education and environment. We find that our democratic theories and forms of government were fashioned by but one of the many races and peoples which have come within their practical operation, and that race, the so-called Anglo Saxon, developed them out of its own island experience unhampered by inroads of alien stock. When once thus established in England and further developed in America we find that other races and peoples, accustomed to despotism and even savagery, and wholly unused to self government, have been thrust into the delicate fabric.

Like a practical people, as we pride ourselves, we have begun actually to despotize our institutions in order to control these dissident elements, although still optimistically holding

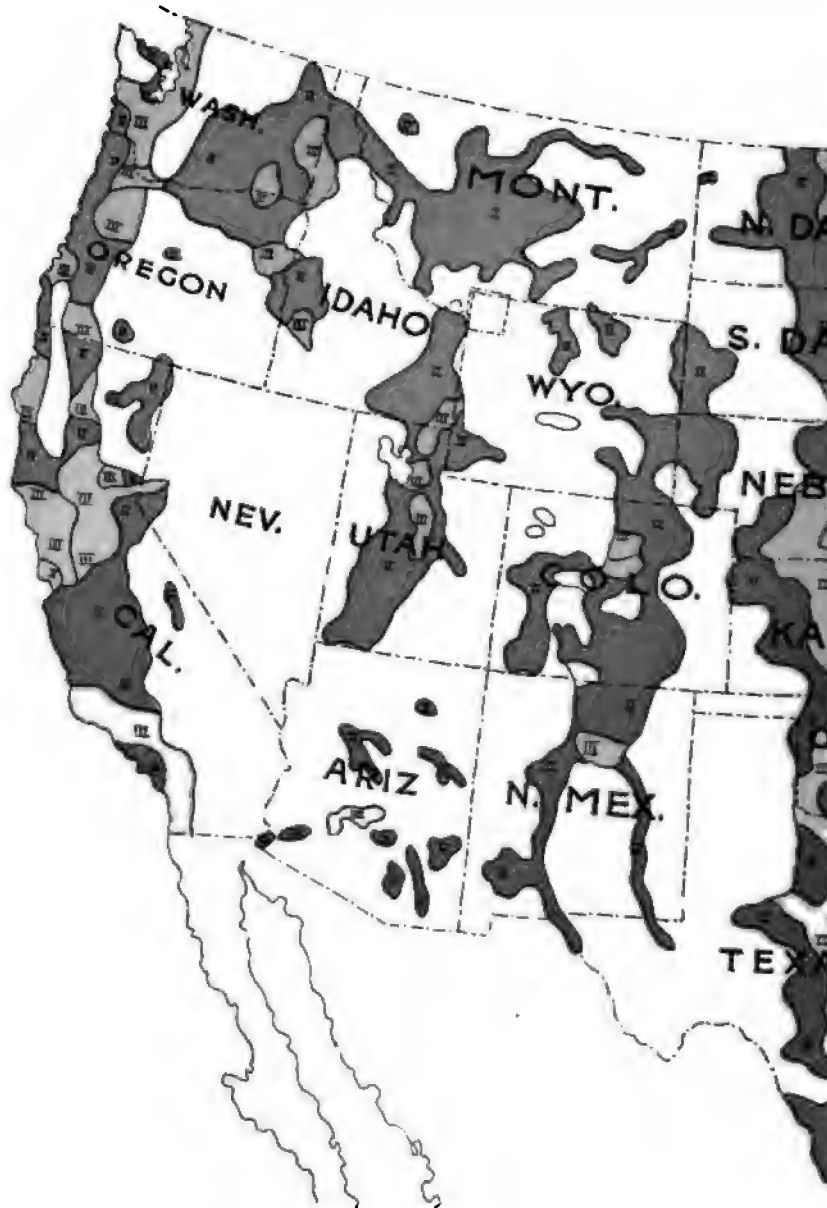


that we retain the original democracy. The earlier problem was mainly a political one—how to unite into one self governing nation a scattered population with the wide diversity of natural resources, climates, and interests that mark a country stretching from ocean to ocean and from the arctics to the subtropics. The problem now is a social one—how to unite into one people a congeries of races even more diverse than the resources and climates from which they draw their subsistence. That motto, *e pluribus unum* (one out of many), which in the past has guided those who through constitutional debate and civil war worked out our form of government, must now again be the motto of those who would work out the more fundamental problem of the union of races. Here is something deeper than the form of government—it is the essence of government—for it is that union of the hearts and lives and capacities of the people which makes government what it really is.

The conditions necessary for democratic government are not merely the constitutions and laws which guarantee equality, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for these after all are but paper documents. They are not merely freedom from foreign power, for the Australian colonies enjoy the most democratic of all governments, largely because their mother country has protected them from foreign and civil wars. Neither are wealth and prosperity necessary for democracy, for these may tend to luxury, inequality and envy. World power, however glorious and enticing, is not helpful to democracy, for it inclines to militarism and centralization; as did Rome in the hands of an emperor, or Venice in the hands of an oligarchy. The true foundations of democracy are in the character of the people themselves, that is, of the individuals who constitute the democracy. These are first, intelligence—the power to weigh evidence and draw sound conclusions, based on adequate information; second, manliness, that which the Romans called virility, and which at bottom is dignified self respect, self control, and that self assertion and jealousy of encroachment which marks those who, knowing their rights, dare maintain them; third, and equally important, the capacity for co-operation, that willingness and ability to organize,



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to trust their leaders, to work together for a common interest and toward a common destiny, a capacity which we variously designate as patriotism, public spirit, or self government.

These are the basic qualities which underlie democracy—intelligence, manliness, co-operation. If they are lacking, democracy is futile. Here is the problem of races, the fundamental division of mankind. Race differences are established in the very blood and physical constitution. They are most difficult to eradicate and they yield only to the slow processes of the centuries. Races may change their religion, their forms of government and industry, and their language, but underneath all these changes they may continue the physical, mental and moral capacities and incapacities which determine the real character of their religion, government, industry and literature. Race and heredity furnish the raw material, education and environment furnish the tools, with which and by which social institutions are fashioned; and in a democracy race and heredity are the more decisive, because the very education and environment which fashion the oncoming generations are themselves controlled through universal suffrage by the races themselves whom it is hoped to educate and elevate.

Closely connected with race division in its effect upon democracy are the divisions between social classes. In America we are wont to congratulate ourselves on the absence of classes with their accompanying hatred and envy. Whether we shall continue thus to commend ourselves depends partly on what we mean by social classes. If we compare our situation with an extreme case, that of India, where social classes have been hardened into rigid castes, we can see the connection between races and classes. For it is generally held that the castes of India originated in the conquests by an Aryan race of an indigenous dark or colored race. And, while the clear cut race distinctions have been blended through many centuries of amalgamation, yet it is most apparent that a gradation in the color of the skin follows the gradation in social position, from the light colored high caste Brahman to the dark colored low caste or outcast Sudra. Race divisions have been forgotten, but in their place religion has sanctified

a division even more rigid than that of race, for it is sacrilege and defiance of the gods when a man of low caste ventures into the occupation and calling of the high caste. India's condition now is what might be conceived for our southern states a thousand years from now, when the black man, who had not advanced to the lighter shades of mulatto, should be excluded from all professions and skilled trades and from all public offices and should be restricted to the coarsest kind of service as a day laborer or as a field hand on the agricultural plantations. Confined to this limited occupation, with no incentive to economize because of no prospect to rise above his station, and with his numbers increasing, competition would reduce his wages to the lowest limit consistent with the continuance of his kind. Such a development is plainly going on at the present day, and we may feel reasonably certain that we can see in our own south the very historical steps by which in the forgotten centuries India proceeded to her rigid system of castes.

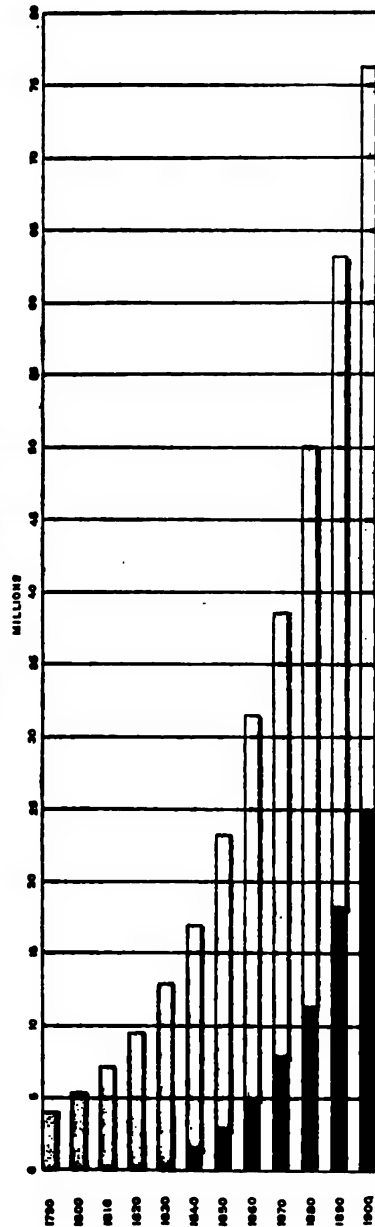
There is lacking but one essential to the Indian system, namely, a religion which ascribes to God himself the inequalities which man has contrived. For the Indian derives the sacred Brahman from the mouth of God to be His spokesman on earth, while the poor Sudra comes from the feet of God, to be forever the servant of all the castes above him. But the Christian religion has set forth a different theory, which ascribes to God entire impartiality as regards races and individuals. He has "made of one blood all nations." It is out of this doctrine that the self evident assertion in the Declaration of Independence originated, and it is this doctrine which throughout the history of European civilization has contributed to smooth out the harsh lines of caste into the less definite lines of social classes. For it must be remembered that Europe, like India, is built upon conquest, and the earlier populations were reduced to the condition of slaves and serfs to the conquering races. True, there was not the extreme opposition of white and colored races which distinguished the conquests of India, and this is also one of the reasons why slavery and serfdom gradually gave way, and races coalesced. Nevertheless, the peasantry of Europe to-day is in large part



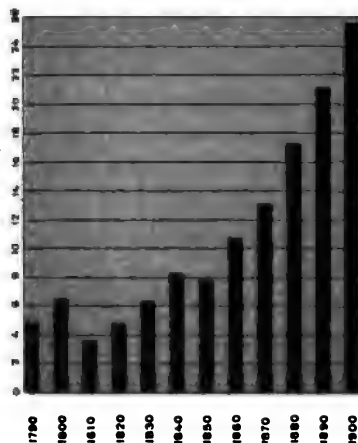




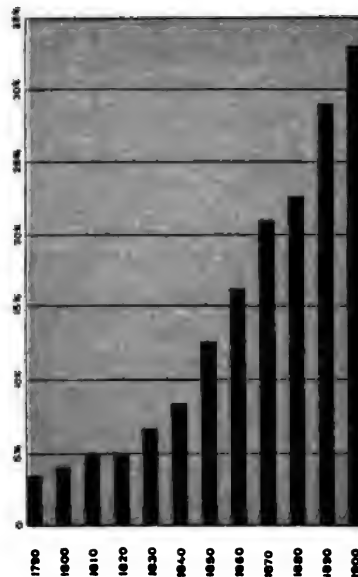
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**3 PROPORTION OF URBAN TO TOTAL POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS**





the product of serfdom and of that race subjection which produced serfdom. Herein we may find the source of that arrogance on the one hand and subserviency on the other, which so closely relate class divisions to race divisions.

"The European peasant," says Professor Shaler, a keen observer, familiar with the peasant on his native ground, "knows himself to be by birthright a member of an inferior class, from which there is practically no chance of escaping. He is in essentially the same state as the southern negro. There is a wall between him and the higher realms of life. The imprisonment is so complete that he rarely thinks about the chances of escaping. Centuries of experience have bred in him the understanding that he is by nature a peasant, and that, save in rare instances, he can acquire no other station in the land of his birth. It is characteristic of peasants that they have accepted this inferior lot. For generations they have regarded themselves as separated from their fellow citizens of higher caste. They have no large sense of citizenly motives; they feel no sense of responsibility for any part of the public life save that which lies within their own narrow round of action."

How different from the qualities of the typical American citizen whose forefathers have erected our edifice of representative democracy! It was not the peasant class of Europe that sought these shores in order to found a free government. It was the middle class, the merchants and yeomen, those who in religion and politics were literally protestants; and who possessed the intelligence, manliness and public spirit which urged them to assert for themselves those inalienable rights which the church or the state of their time had arrogated to itself. With such a social class democracy is the only acceptable form of government. They demand and secure equal opportunities because they are able to rise to those opportunities. By their own inherent nature they look forward to and aspire to the highest positions.

But the peasants of Europe, especially of southern and eastern Europe, have been reduced to the qualities similar to those of an inferior race that favor despotism and oligarchy rather than democracy. Their only avenues of escape from

their subordinate positions have been through the army and the church, and these two institutions have drawn from the peasants their ablest and brightest intellects into a life which deprived them of offspring. "Among the prosperous folk, there have been many classes of occupations tempting the abler youths, while among the laborers the church has afforded the easiest way to rise, and that which is most tempting to the intelligent," says Professor Shaler. "The result has been, that while the priesthood and monastic orders have systematically debilitated all the populations of Catholic Europe, their influence has been most efficient in destroying talent in the peasant class."

Thus it is that the peasants of Catholic Europe, who constitute the bulk of our immigration, have become almost a distinct race, drained of those superior qualities which are the foundations of democratic institutions. If in America our boasted freedom from the evils of social classes fails to be vindicated in the future, the reasons will be found in the immigration of races and classes incompetent to share in our democratic opportunities. Already in the case of the negro this division has hardened and seems destined to become more rigid. Therein we must admit at least one exception to our claim of immunity from social classes. Whether, with our public schools, our stirring politics, our ubiquitous newspapers, our common language and our network of transportation, the children of the European immigrant shall be able to rise to the opportunities unreached by his parents is the largest and deepest problem now pressing upon us. It behooves us as a people to enter into the practical study of this problem, for upon its outcome depends the fate of the government of the people, for the people and by the people.

We use the term race in a rather loose and elastic sense; and indeed we are not culpable in so doing, for the ethnographers and scientists are not agreed upon the term. Races have been classified on the basis of color or on the basis of supposed origin, and in these latter days on the basis of the shape of the skull. For our purpose we need consider only those large and apparent divisions which have a direct bear-

ing on the problem of assimilation, referring those who seek the more subtle problems to other treatises.

Mankind in general has been divided into three and again into five great racial stocks, and one of these stocks, the Aryan or Indo-Germanic, is represented among us by ten or more subdivisions which we also term races. It need not cause confusion if we use the term race not only to designate these grand divisions which are so far removed by nature one from another as to render successful amalgamation an open question, and also to designate those peoples or nationalities which we recognize as distinct yet related within one of the large divisions. Within the area controlled by the United States are to be found representatives of each of the grand divisions, or primary racial groups, and it is a most fascinating study to turn from the more practical topics, and follow the races of man in their dispersion over the globe and their final gathering together again under the republic of America.

First is the Aryan, or Indo-Germanic race, which, wherever it originated, sent its Sanskrit conquerors to the south to plant themselves upon a black race related to the Africans and the Australians. Its western branch, many thousand miles away, made the conquest and settlement of Europe. Here it sent out many smaller branches, among them the Greeks and Latins, whose situation on the Mediterranean helped in great measure to develop brilliant and conquering civilizations, and who, after twenty centuries of decay and subjection, have begun again their western movement, this time to North and South America. North of Greece the Aryans became the manifold Slavs, that most prolific of races. One branch of the Slavs has spread the power of Russia east and west, and is now crushing the alien Hebrew, Finn and German, and even its fellow Slavs, the Lithuanian and Pole, who, to escape their oppressors, are moving to America. The Russian himself, with his vast expanse of fertile prairie and steppe, does not migrate across the water but drives away those whom he can not or will not assimilate. From Austro-Hungary, with its medley of races, came other branches of the Slavs, the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Slovaks, the

Slovenians, the Croatians and the Poles, some of them mistakenly called Huns, but really oppressed by the true Hun, the Magyar, and by the German.

To the west of the Slavs we find the Teutonic branches of the Aryans, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and above all, the English and Scotch-Irish with their descent from the Angles, Saxons, and Franks, who have given to America our largest accessions in numbers, besides our language, our institutions and forms of government. Then other branches of the Aryans known as Celtic, including the Irish, Scotch and Welsh, formerly driven into the hills and islands by the Teutons, have vied with the English and Germans in adding to our population. The French, a mixture of Teuton and Celt, a nationality noted above all others for its stationary population and dislike of migration, are nevertheless contributing to our numbers by the circuitous route of Canada, and are sending to us a class of people as different almost from the present day Frenchman in his native home as the Italian or Portuguese is different from the Frenchman.

In the fertile valleys of Mesopotamia and the Tigris, the Semitic race had separated from its cousins, the Aryans, and one remarkable branch of this race, the Hebrews, settling on a diminutive tract of land on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and finally driven forth as wanderers to live upon their wits, exploited by and exploiting in turn every race of Europe, have ultimately been driven forth to America by the thousands from Russia and Austria.

Another race, the Mongolian, multiplying on the plains of Asia, sent a conquering branch to the west, scattering the Slavs and Teutons and making for itself a permanent wedge in the middle of Europe, whence, under the name of Magyar, the true Hungarian, the Mongolians come to America. Going in another direction from this Asiatic home the Mongolian race has made the circuit of the globe, and the Chinese and Japanese meet in America their unrecognized cousins of many thousand years ago.

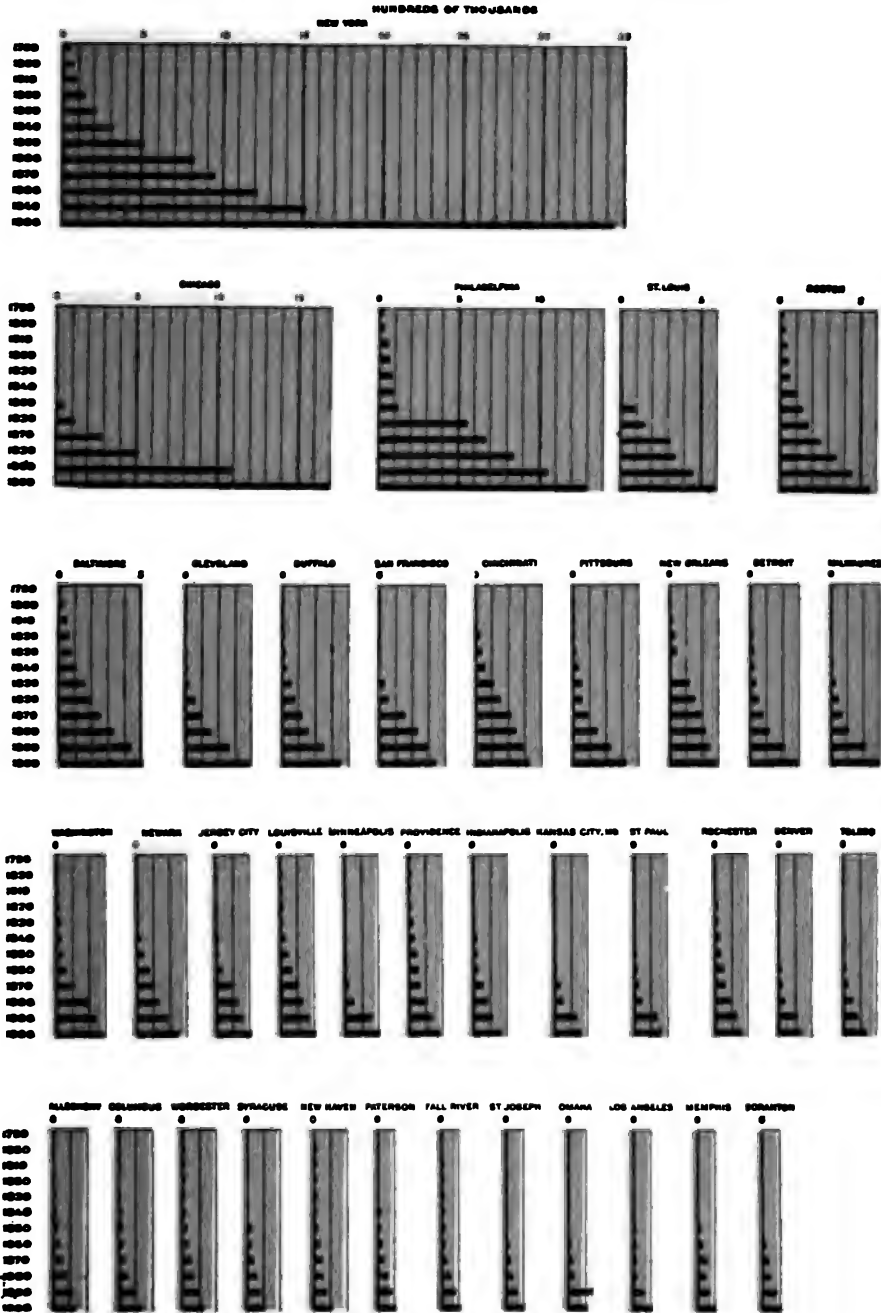
Last of the immigrants to be mentioned, but among the earliest in point of time, is the black race from the slave coast of Africa. This was not a free and voluntary migra-







# **TOTAL POPULATION OF GREAT CITIES AT EACH CENSUS**





tion of a people seeking new fields for freedom from oppression, but a forced migration designed to relieve the white race from toil. All of the other races mentioned, the Aryan, the Semitic, the Mongolian, had in early times met one another and even perhaps had sprung from the same stock, so that when in America they come together, there is presumably a renewal of the former ties. But, as far back as we can trace the history of races in the records of archæology or philology, we find no traces of affiliation with the black race. The separation by continents, by climate, by color, and by institutions, is the most diametrical that mankind exhibits anywhere. It is even greater than that between the Aryan and the native American, improperly called the Indian, whose presence on the soil which we have seized from him has furnished us with a peculiar variation in our multiform race problem. For the Indian tribes, although within our acquired territory, have always been treated as foreign nations, and their reservations have been saved to them under the forms of treaties. Only recently has there sprung up a policy of admitting them to citizenship, and, therefore, the Indian, superior in some respects to the negro, has not interfered with our experiment of democracy.

We have taken into our fold the Malay race, with some 10,000,000 representatives in the Sandwich and Philippine islands. Like the Indian and negro, this race never, in historic times prior to the discovery of the new world, came into close contact with the white races. With its addition we have completed the round of all the grand divisions of the human family and have brought together, for a common experiment in self government, the white, yellow, black, red and brown races of the earth.

Scarcely another nation in ancient or modern history can show within compact borders so varied an aggregation. It is frequently maintained that a nation composed of a mixed stock is superior in mind and body to one of single and homogeneous stock. But it must be remembered that amalgamation requires centuries. The English race is probably as good an example of a mixed race as can be found in modern history, yet this race, though a mixture of the closely

related primitive Celt, the conquering Teuton, and the Latinized Scandinavian, did not reach a common language and homogeneity until three hundred years after the last admixture. We know from modern researches that all of the races of Europe are mixed in their origin, but we also know that so much of that mixture as resulted in amalgamation occurred at a time so remote that it has been ascribed to the stone age.

The later inroads have either been but temporary and have left but slight impression, or they have resulted in a division of territory. Thus the conquest of Britain by the Teutons and the Normans has not produced amalgamation so much as it has caused a segregation of the Celts in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and of the Teutons, with their later but slight infusion of Normans, in England. On the continent of Europe this segregation has been even more strongly marked. The present stratification of races and nationalities has followed the upheavals and inroads of a thousand years introduced by the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Two developments have taken place. A conquering race has reduced a native population in part to subjection, and has imposed upon the natives its laws, customs and languages. In course of time, the subject race becomes a lower social class and slowly assimilates with the upper classes, producing a homogeneous nationality with a new evolution of laws, custom and language. This is the history of four great nations of Europe, the French, the German, the English, the Italian. The other development has been the segregation of a portion of the conquered race, who, having fled their conquerors, avoid actual subjection by escaping to the mountains and islands. Here they preserve their original purity of stock and language. This is the history of Austro-Hungary, whose earlier population of Slavs has been scattered right and left by German and Hun and who now constitute separate branches and dialects of the unassimilated races.

The little bundle of republics known as Switzerland is a federation of French, Germans and Italians who retain their languages and have developed what, out of such a conflict of races has elsewhere never developed, a high grade





of democratic government. Here, in historic times, there has been no amalgamation of races or assimilation of languages, but there has been the distinct advantage of a secluded freedom from surrounding feudal lords, which naturally led to a loose federation of independent cantons. It is Switzerland's mountains and not her mixed races that have promoted her democracy. At the other end of the world the highest development of democracy is in the colonies of Australasia, where a homogeneous race, protected from foreign foes, and prohibiting the immigration of alien races and inferior classes, has worked out self government in politics and industry. In the Roman Empire we see the opposite extreme. At first a limited republic, the extension of conquests and the incorporation of alien races led to that centralization of power in the hands of one man which transformed the republic into the empire. The British Empire, which to-day covers all races of the earth, is democratic as regards Englishmen, but despotic as regards subject races. Taking the empire as a whole, neither amalgamation nor self government is within the bounds of its constitutional growth.

In America, on the other hand, we have attempted to unite all races in one commonwealth and one elective government. We have, indeed, a most notable advantage compared with other countries where race divisions have undermined democracy. A single language became dominant from the time of the earliest permanent settlement, and all subsequent races and languages must adopt the established medium. This is essential, for it is not physical amalgamation that unites mankind, it is mental community. To be great a nation need not be of one blood, it must be of one mind. Racial inequality and inferiority are fundamental only to the extent that they prevent mental and moral assimilation. If we think together we can act together, and the organ of common thought and action is common language. Through the prism of this noble instrument of the human mind all other instruments focus their powers of assimilation upon the new generations as they come forth from the disunited immigrants. The public schools, the newspapers, the books, the political



parties, the trade unions, the religious propagandists, with their manifold agencies of universal education, the railroads with their inducements to our unparalleled mobility of population, are all dependent upon our common language for their high efficiency. Herein are we fortunate in our plans for the Americanization of all races within our borders. We are not content to let the fate of our institutions wait upon the slow and doubtful processes of blood amalgamation but are eager to direct our energies toward the more rapid movements of mental assimilation. Race and heredity may be beyond our organized control; but the instrument of a common language is at hand for conscious improvement through education and social environment.

Doubtless the most fascinating topic in the study of races is that of the great men each race has produced. The personal interest surrounding those who have gained eminence carries us back over each step of their career to their childhood, their parents and their ancestry. Pride of race adds its zest, and each race has its eulogists who claim every great man whose family tree reveals even a single ancestor, male or female, near or remote, of the eulogized race. Here is a conflict of jurisdiction, and the student who is without race prejudice begins to look for causes other than race origin to which should be ascribed the emergence of greatness.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge attempted, some years ago, to assign to the different races in America the 14,243 men eminent enough to find a place in Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography. He prepared a statistical summary in his Historical and Political Essays, as follows:

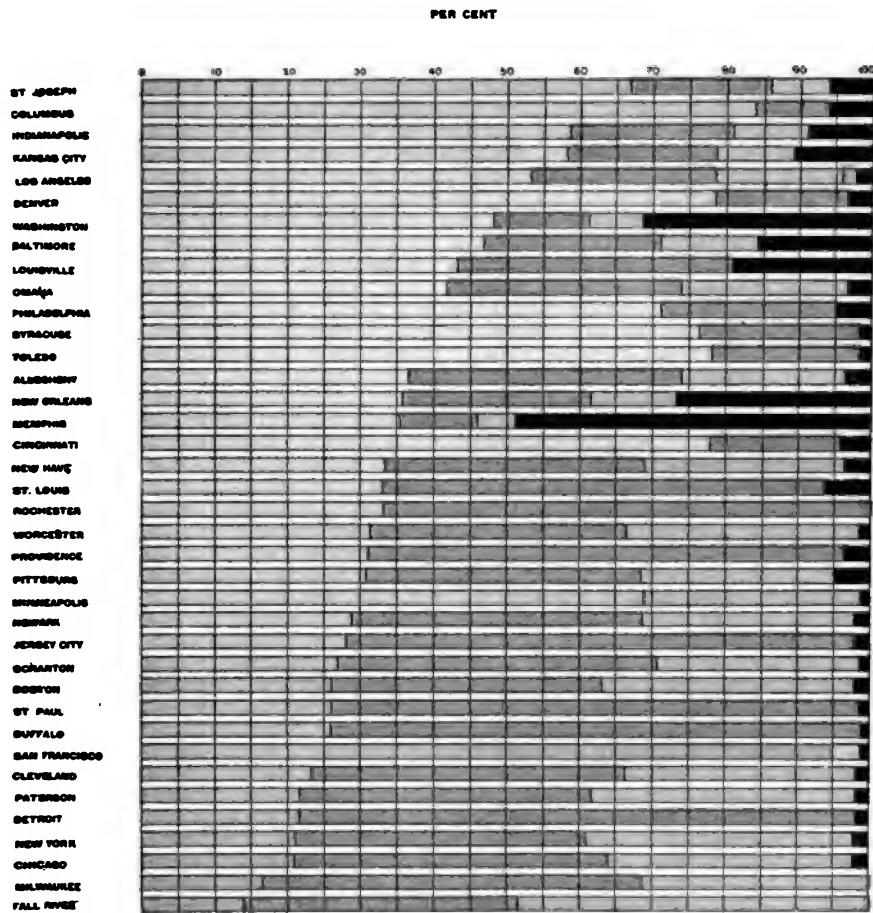
**TOTALS BY RACE.**

English .....	10,376	Scandinavian .....	81
Scotch-Irish .....	1,439	Spanish .....	7
German .....	659	Italian .....	7
Huguenot .....	589	Swiss .....	5
Scotch .....	486	Greek .....	8
Dutch .....	336	Russian .....	1
Welsh .....	159	Polish .....	1
Irish .....	109		
French .....	85	Total .....	14,243





# CONSTITUENTS OF THE POPULATION OF CITIES OF MORE THAN 100,000 INHABITANTS



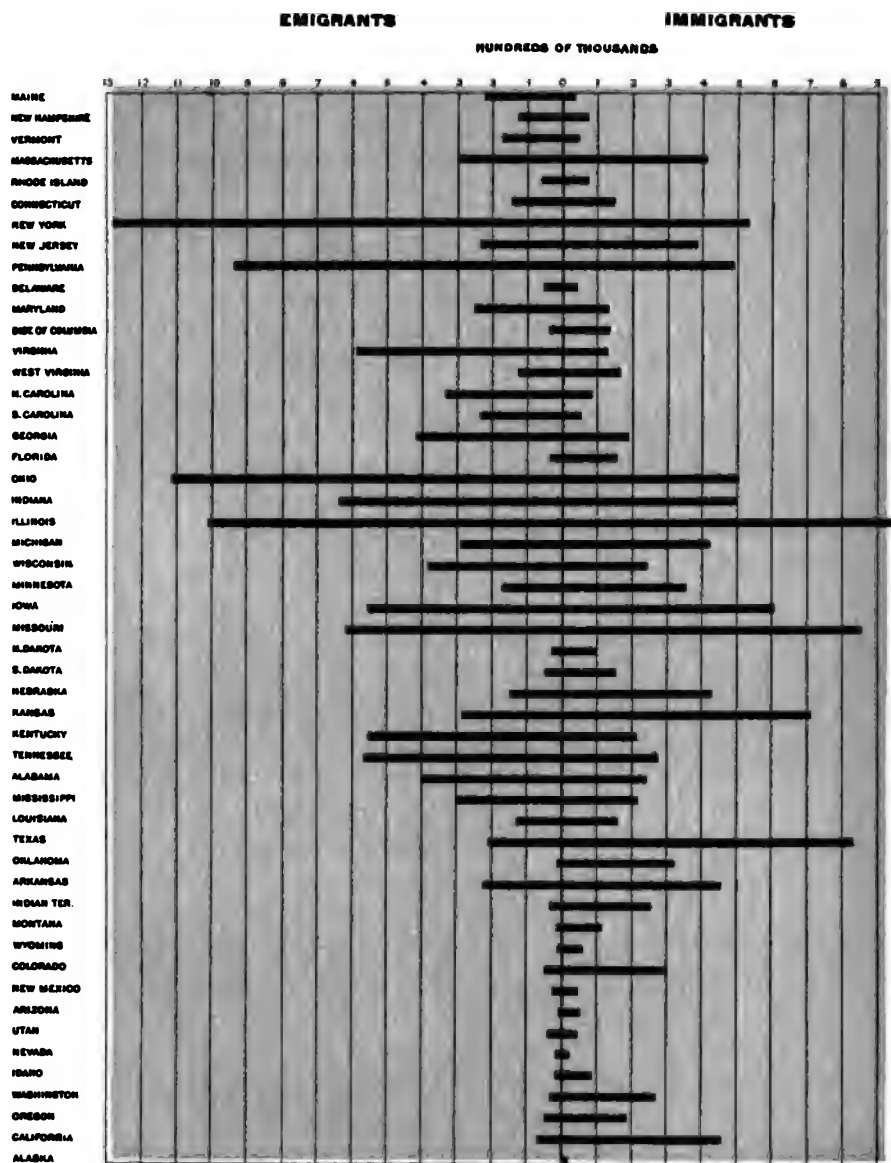
NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTS   
 NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN PARENTS  
 CHINESE AND JAPANESE   
 FOREIGN WHITE  
 NEGRO







# INTERSTATE MIGRATION.







When we inquire into the methods necessarily adopted in preparing a statistical table of this kind, we discover serious limitations. Mr. Lodge was confined to the paternal line alone, but if, as some biologists assert, the female is the conservative element which holds to the type, and the male is the variable element which departs from the type, then the specific contribution of the race factor would be found in the maternal line. We find that in American life two hundred years of intermingling has, in many, if not in most cases of greatness, broken into the continuity of race. True, the New England and Virginia stock has remained during most of this time of purely English origin, but the very fact that in Mr. Lodge's tables Massachusetts produced 2,686 notables, while Virginia, of the same blood, produced only 1,038, must lead to the suspicion that factors other than race extraction are the mainspring of greatness.

It must be remembered that ability is not identical with eminence. Ability is the product of ancestry and training. Eminence is an accident of social conditions. The English race was the main contributor to population during the seventeenth century, and English conquest determined the form of government, the language and the opportunities for individual advancement. During the succeeding century the Scotch-Irish and the Germans migrated in nearly equal numbers, and their combined migration was perhaps as great as that of the English in the seventeenth century. But they were compelled to move to the interior, to become frontiersmen, to earn their living directly from the soil, and to leave to their English sprung predecessors the more prominent occupations of politics, literature, law, commerce, and the army. The Germans, who, according to Lodge, produced fewer men of ability than any other race in the United States, were further handicapped by their language and isolation, which continue to this day in the counties of Pennsylvania where they originally settled. On the other hand, the Huguenots and the Dutch came in the first century of colonization. They rapidly merged with the English, lost their language, and hence contributed their full share of eminence. Finally, the Irish, Scandinavian, and other races inconspicuous in the galaxy

of notables, did not migrate in numbers until the middle of the nineteenth century, and in addition to the restraints of language and poverty they found the roads to prominence preoccupied.

Besides the accident of precedence in time, a second factor, distinct from race itself, has contributed to the eminence of one race over another. The Huguenots and the French according to Lodge's statistics, show a percentage of ability in proportion to their total immigration much higher than that of any other race. But the Huguenots were a select class of people, manufacturers and merchants, perhaps the most intelligent and enterprising of Frenchmen in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the direct migration from France to this country has never included many peasants and wage earners, but has been limited to the adventurous and educated. Had the French Canadians, who represent the peasantry of France, been included in these comparisons the proportion of French eminence would have been reduced materially.

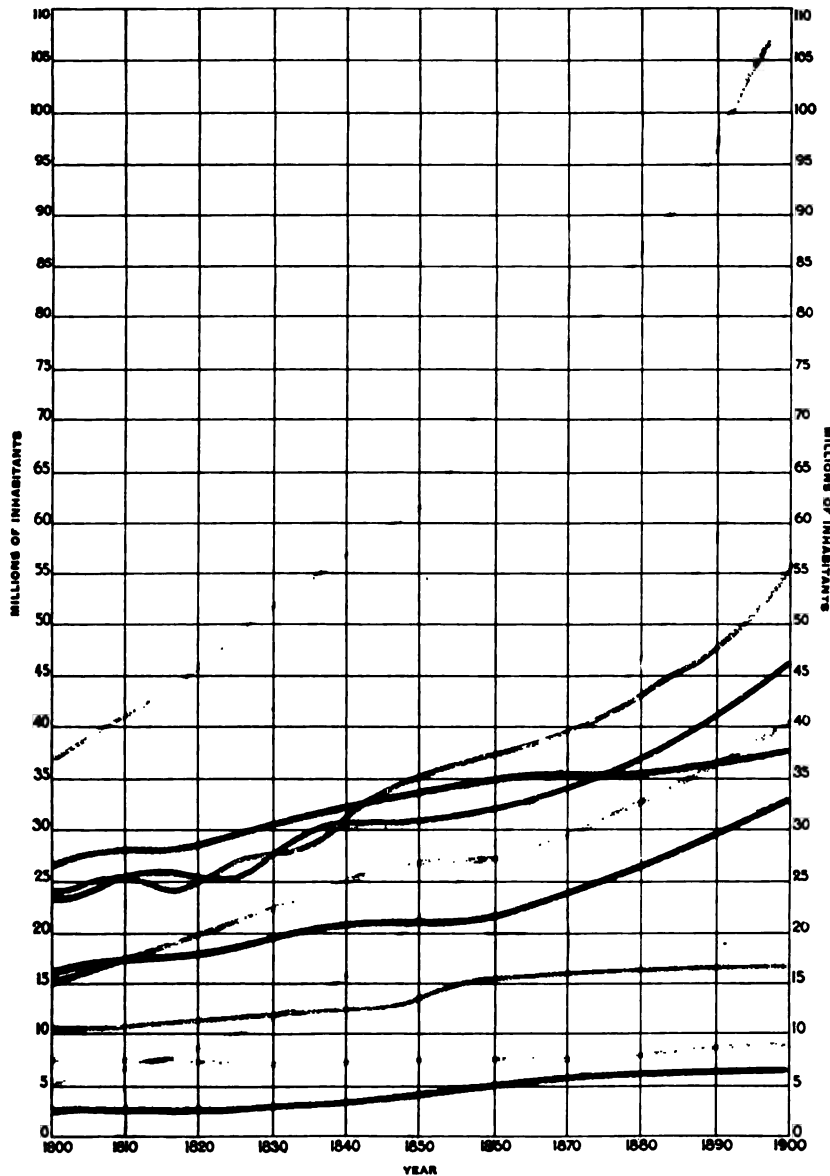
The same is true of the English. Although sprung from one race, those who came to America represented at least two grades of society as widely apart as two races. The Pilgrims and Puritans of New England were the yeomen, the merchants, the manufacturers, skilled in industry, often independent in resources, and well trained in the intellectual controversies of religion and politics. The southern planters also sprang from a class of similar standing, though not so strongly addicted to intellectual pursuits. Beneath both these classes were the indentured servants, a few of whom were men of ability who were forced to pay their passage by service. But the majority of them were brought to this country through the advertisements of shipowners and landholders or even forcibly captured on the streets of cities or transported for crimes and pauperism. Though all of these classes were of the same race, they were about as widely divergent as races themselves in point of native ability and preparatory training.

The third and most important cause of eminence, apart from ancestry, is the social and legal environment. An agricultural community produces very few eminent men con-





# INCREASE OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE



RUSSIA ■ FRANCE ■ GERMAN EMPIRE ■ UNITED STATES  
 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY ■ UNITED KINGDOM ■ ITALY ■  
 SPAIN ■ SWEDEN, AND NORWAY. ■ TURKEY ■



pared with the number produced where manufactures and commerce vie with agriculture to attract the youth. A state of widely diversified industrial interests is likely to create widely diversified intellectual and moral interests. Complicated problems of industry and politics stimulate the mind and reflect their influence in literature, art, education, science, and the learned professions. Most of all, equal opportunity for all classes and large prizes for the ambitious and industrious serve to stimulate individuals of native ability to their highest endeavor. It was the deadening effects of slavery, creating inequalities among the whites themselves, that smothered the genius of the southerner whether Englishman, Huguenot, or Scotch-Irish, and it was the free institutions of the north that invited their genius to unfold and blossom.

These considerations lead us to look with distrust on the claims of those who find in race ancestry or in race intermixture the reasons for such eminence as Americans have attained. While the race factor is decisive when it marks off inferior and primitive races, yet, in considering those European races which have joined in our civilization, the important questions are: From what social classes is immigration drawn? and, Do our social institutions offer free opportunity and high incentive to the youth of ability? In so far as we get a choice selection of immigrants and in so far as we afford them free scope for their native gifts, so far do they render to our country the services of genius, talent, and industry.

It is the distinctive fact regarding colonial migration that it was Teutonic in blood and Protestant in religion. The English, Dutch, Swedes, Germans, and even the Scotch-Irish who constituted practically the entire migration, were, less than two thousand years ago, one Germanic race in the forests surrounding the North sea. The Protestant reformation, sixteen centuries later, began among those peoples and found in them its sturdiest supporters. The doctrines of the reformation, adapted as they were to the strong individualism of the Germanic races, prepared the hearts of men for the doctrines of political liberty and constitutional government of the succeeding century. The reformation banished the idea that men must seek salvation through the intercession of priests



and popes, who, however sacred, are only fellow men, and set up the idea that each soul has direct access to God. With the bible as a guide and his own conscience as a judge, each man was accountable only to one divine sovereign.

From the standpoint of the age, this doctrine was too radical. It tended to break up existing society into sects and factions, and to precipitate those civil and religious wars which ended in a Catholic or aristocratic reaction. When this reaction came the numerous Protestant sects of the extremer types found themselves the objects of persecution, and nothing remained but to seek a new land where the heavy hand of repression could not reach them. Thus America became the home of numberless religious sects and denominations of these several races. From England came Congregationalists (the Pilgrims), Puritans, Quakers, Baptists; from Scotland came Presbyterians; from Germany came Quakers, Dunkards, Pietists, Ridge Hermits, Salzburgers, and Moravians.

It is not to be inferred that religious persecution alone in the early colonial period caused immigration. In point of numbers, commercial enterprise was probably equally influential. In Holland all religious sects were welcomed with a liberality far in advance of any other nation, and, at the same time, the Dutch people were the most advanced in the modern pursuits of trade and commerce. The Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam was therefore a business enterprise, and neither before or after the conquest by the British was there any religious obstacle to the reception of other races and religions. In this respect New York differed widely from New England, where religious exclusiveness preserved the English race as a peculiar people until the middle of the nineteenth century. So diverse were the races in New York, and so liberal were the opportunities open to all, that Governor Horatio Seymour was able to say that nine men prominent in its early history represented the same number of nationalities. Schuyler was of Dutch descent, Herkimer of German, Jay of French, Livingston of Scotch, Clinton of Irish, Morris of Welsh, while Hamilton was a West India Englishman, and Baron Steuben a Prussian.

Another colony to which all races and religions were welcomed was Pennsylvania. William Penn established this colony both as a refuge for the persecuted Quakers of England and as a real estate venture. He was the first American to advertise his dominions widely throughout Europe, offering to sell one hundred acres of land at two English pounds and a low rental. His advertisements called attention to popular government and universal suffrage; equal rights to all regardless of race or religious belief; trial by jury; murder and treason the only capital crimes, and reformation, not retaliation, the object of punishment for other offences. Thus Pennsylvania, although settled a half century later than the southern and northern colonies, soon exceeded them in population. Penn sent his agents to Germany and persuaded large numbers of German Quakers and Pietists to cast their lot in his plantation, so that in twenty years, the Germans numbered nearly one half the population. Again, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Louis XIV. overran the Palatinate and thousands of Germans fled to England, the English government encouraged their migration to America. In one year four thousand of them, the largest single immigration of the colonial period, embarked for New York, but their treatment was so illiberal that they moved to Pennsylvania, and thenceforth the German migration sought the latter colony. These people settled at Germantown, near Philadelphia, and occupied the counties of Bucks and Montgomery, where they continue to this day with their peculiar language, the Pennsylvania Dutch. Not only William Penn himself, but other landowners in Pennsylvania, and also the shipowners, advertised the country in Germany, and thousands of the poorer sort of Germans were induced to indenture themselves to the settlers to whom they were auctioned off in payment for transportation. Probably one half of all the immigrants of the colonial period came under this system of postpaid transportation.

It was in Pennsylvania that the largest portion of the Scotch-Irish settled, and, before the time of the revolution, that colony had become the most populous and most diversified of all the colonies. It was the only colony, except

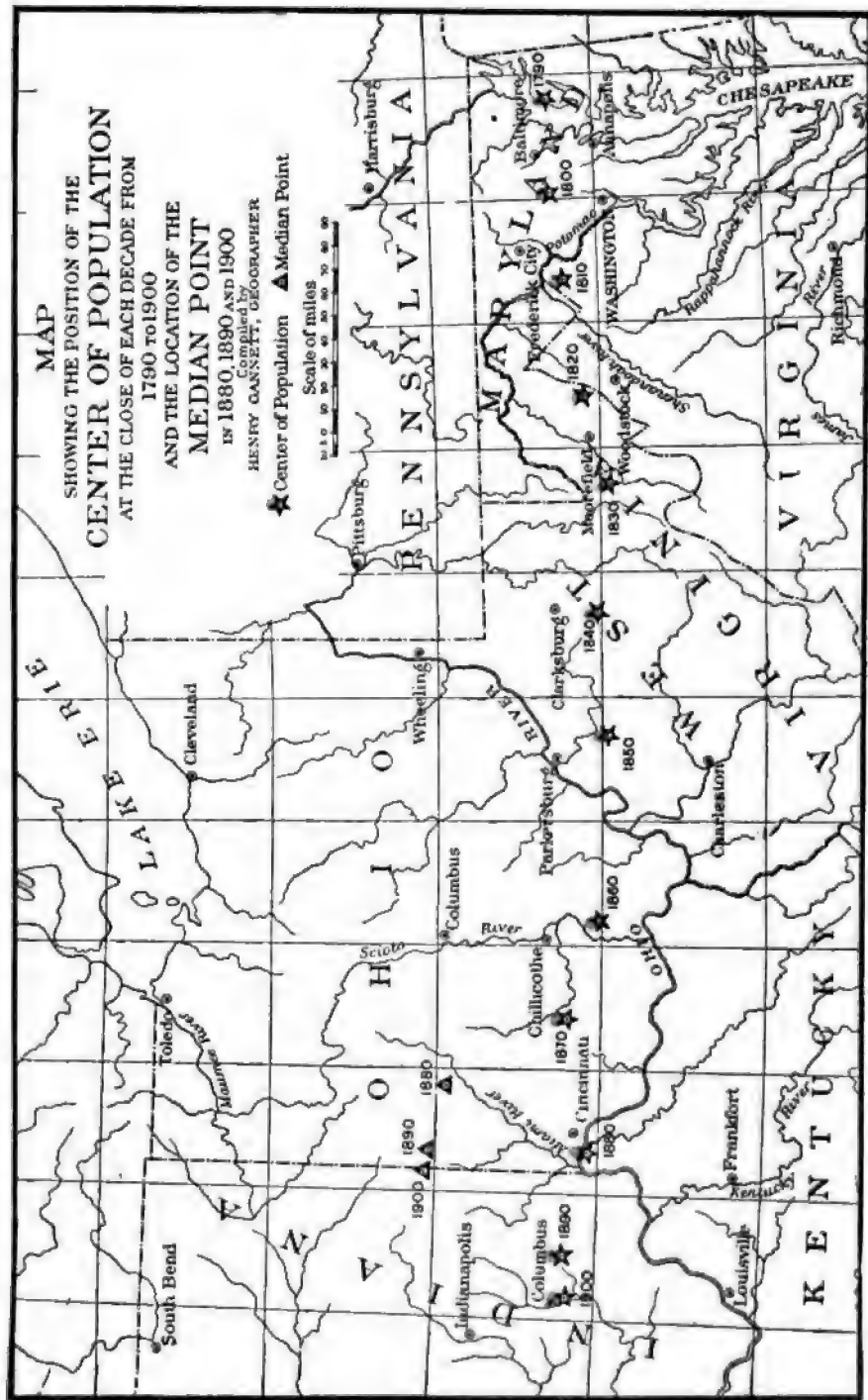
Maryland, that tolerated Roman Catholics, and with all phases of the Christian religion and all branches of the Teutonic and Celtic races, Pennsylvania set the original type to which all of America has conformed, that of race intermixture on the basis of religious and political equality.

It has long been recognized that, among the most virile and aggressive people who came to America in colonial times and who have contributed a peculiar share to the American character, are the Scotch-Irish. Their descendants boast of their ancestry and cite long lists of notables as their coderivatives. Yet, until recent years, it has been the misfortune of the Scotch-Irish to have escaped historical investigation; for American history has been written chiefly in New England, whose colonial Puritans forbade them in their midst. In fact, from the earliest settlement, the Scotch-Irish have been pioneers and men of action. They have contributed to America few writers and artists, but many generals, politicians, and captains of industry. In literature they claim two eminent names, Irving and Poe; but in the army, navy, politics, and business, they claim John Paul Jones, Perry, Andrew Jackson, Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, Ulysses S. Grant, Stonewall Jackson, George B. McClellan, Alexander Hamilton, John C. Calhoun, James G. Blaine, Jefferson Davis, Thomas Benton, Thos. A. Hendricks, John G. Carlisle, Mark Hanna, William McKinley, Matthew S. Quay, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Horace Greeley, Henry Watterson, and hundreds alike famous in the more strenuous movements of American life.

A paradoxical fact regarding the Scotch-Irish is that they are very little Scotch and much less Irish. That is to say, they do not belong mainly to the so-called Celtic race, but they are the most composite of all the people of the British Isles. They are called Scots because they lived in Scotia, and they are called Irish because they moved to Ireland. Geography and not ethnology has given them their name. They are a mixed race through whose veins run the Celtic blood of the primitive Scot and Pict, the primitive Briton, the primitive Irish, but with a larger admixture of the later Norwegian, Dane, Saxon, and Angle. How this amalgama-









tion came about we may learn from the geography of Scotland.

The highlands of Scotland begin at the Grampian hills, and extend north and west beyond a line roughly drawn from the Clyde to the Moray Firth. The lowlands extend south from this line to the British border and include the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. The Scotch-Irish came from that southwestern part of the lowlands, which bulges out toward Ireland north of the Solway Firth. Over these lowland countries, bounded by water and hills on three sides, successive waves of conquest and migration followed. First the primitive Caledonian or Pict was driven to the highlands, which to this day is the Celtic portion of Scotland. The Briton from the south, pressed on by Roman and then by Teuton, occupied the country. Then Irish tribes crossed over and gained a permanent hold. Then the Norwegian sailors came around from the north, and to this day there are pure Scandinavian types on the adjacent islands. Then the Saxons and Angles, driven by the Danes and Normans, gained a foothold from the east, and lastly the Danes themselves added their contingent. Here in this lowland pocket of territory no larger than a good sized American county, was compounded for five hundred years this remarkable amalgam of races.

A thousand years later, after they had become a united people and had shown their metal in the trying times of the reformation, they furnished the emigrants who displaced the Irish in the north of Ireland. James I., whom Scotland gave to England, determined to transform Catholic Ireland into Protestant England, and thereupon confiscated the lands of the native chiefs in Ulster and bestowed them upon Scottish and English lords on condition that they settle the territory with tenants from Scotland and England. This was the great settlement of 1610, and from that time to the present, Ulster has been the Protestant stronghold of Ireland. As late as 1881 the population of Ulster was 47.8 per cent Catholic, 21.7 per cent Episcopalian, and 26.8 per cent Presbyterian, an ecclesiastical division corresponding almost exactly to the racial division of Irish, Scotch, and English. During the whole of the seventeenth century—the first century of this occupa-



tion—the Catholics and Episcopalians were in a much smaller proportion than these figures show for the present time, and the relative increase in Irish and Episcopalians during the eighteenth century was closely connected with the migration of the Scotch to America.

For one hundred years the Scotch multiplied in Ulster and had no dealings with the remnants of the Irish, whom they crowded into the barren hills and whom they treated like savages. They retained their purity of race, and although, when they came to America they called themselves Irish, and were known as Irish wherever they settled, yet they had no Irish blood except that which entered into their composition through the Irish migration to Scotia fifteen hundred years before.

Yet, though they despised the Irish, they could not escape the unhappy fate of Ireland. The first blow came in 1698, nearly one hundred years after their settlement. English manufacturers complained of Irish competition, and the Irish parliament, which was a tool of the British crown, passed an act totally forbidding the exportation of Irish woollens, and another act forbidding the exportation of Irish wool to any country save England. Their slowly growing linen industry was likewise discriminated against in later years. Presbyterian Ulster had been the industrial center of Ireland, and these acts nearly destroyed her industry. Next, Queen Anne's parliament adopted penal laws directed against Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, and the test act, which compelled public officials to take the communion of the Established church, deprived the entire Scotch population of self government. Nevertheless, they were compelled to pay tithes to support the Established church to which they were opposed. Lastly, the hundred year leases of the tenants began to run out, and the landlords offered renewals to the highest bidders on short leases. Here the poverty stricken Irish gained an unhappy revenge on the Scotch who had displaced them of their ancestral lands, for their low standard of living enabled them to offer rack rents far above what the Scotch could afford. No longer did religion, race pride, or gratitude have a part in holding Ulster to Protestant supremacy. The greed

of absentee landlords began to have full sway, and in the resulting struggle for livelihood, hopeless poverty was fitter to survive than ambitious thrift.

The Scotch tenants, their hearts bitter against England and aristocracy, now sought a country where they might have free land and self government. In 1718, it is stated that 4,200 of them left for America. After the famine of 1740 there were 12,000 who left annually. Altogether, in the half century just preceding the American revolution, 200,000 persons, or one third of the Protestant population of Ulster, are said to have immigrated, and the majority came to America. This was by far the largest contribution of any race to the population of America during the eighteenth century, and the injustice they suffered at the hands of England made them among the most determined and effective recruits to the armies that won our independence.

Before the Scotch-Irish moved to America the Atlantic coast line had been well occupied. Consequently, in order to obtain land for themselves, they were forced to go to the interior and to become frontiersmen. They found in Massachusetts a state church to which they must conform in order to be admitted to citizenship. But what they had left Ireland to escape they would not consent in a new country to do. The Puritans were willing that they should occupy the frontier as a buffer against the Indians, and so they took up lands in New Hampshire, Vermont, western Massachusetts, and Maine. Only a few congregations, however, settled in New England—the bulk of the immigrants entered by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and went to the interior of Pennsylvania surrounding and south of Harrisburg. They spread through the Shenandoah valley and in the foothill regions of Virginia and North and South Carolina. Gradually, they pushed farther west, across the mountains into western Pennsylvania, about Pittsburg, and into Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In all of these regions they fought the Indians, protected the older inhabitants from inroads, and developed those pioneer qualities which for one hundred years have characterized the winning of the west.

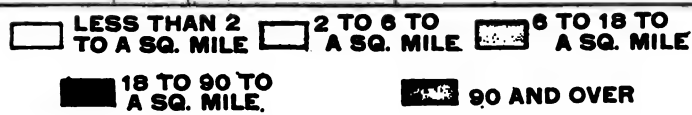
The Scotch-Irish occupied a peculiar place in the new world. More than any other race they served as the amalgam to produce, out of divergent races, a new race, the American. The Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Cavaliers of Virginia, were as radically different as peoples of different races, and they were separated from each other in their own exclusive communities. The Germans were localized in Pennsylvania and Maryland, the Dutch in New York, but the Scotch-Irish alone of the various races in America were present in sufficient numbers in all of the colonies to make their influence count; they alone of all the races had one uniform religion; had experienced together the persecutions by state and church which had deprived them at home of their civil and religious liberties; and were the common heirs to those principles of freedom and democracy which had been developed in Scotland as nowhere else. At the time of the American revolution there were in all above five hundred settlements scattered over practically all the American colonies. Trained as they were in the representative democracy of the Scottish kirk, thrown on their own resources in the wilderness, mingled with the pioneers of many other races, they took the lead in developing that western type which in politics and industry became ultimately the distinctive American type.

Although the negro races of Africa extend across the continent and from the Sudan to Cape Colony, yet the races which yielded a supply of slaves for America were confined to a narrow stretch of the Atlantic coast near the equator. For nearly two thousand miles from Cape Verde the coast of Africa runs southeast and easterly, and then for another thousand miles it runs to the south, forming the gulf of Guinea, and from a belt of land a few hundred miles in width along this coast practically all the negro immigrants to America have come. Here several large rivers, the Senegal, the Gambia, the Niger, and the Congo, furnished harbors for slave ships and routes for slave traders from the interior. Two circumstances, the climate and the luxuriant vegetation, render this region hostile to any continuous exertion. The torrid heat and the excessive humidity weaken the will and actually exterminate those who are too energetic; but this same heat and humidity,

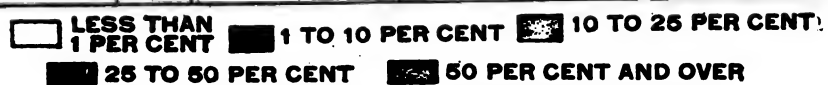




### DENSITY OF POPULATION



### PROPORTION OF URBAN TO TOTAL POPULATION





with the fertile soil, produce unparalleled crops of bananas, yams, and grains. Thus nature conspires to produce a race indolent, improvident and contented. At least seventy five per cent of the deaths are said to be executions for supposed witchcraft, which has killed more men and women than the slave trade. Sexual purity is unknown, except as enforced by the husband or father by virtue of his right of property in wives and daughters. Formerly cannibalism prevailed, but it has now been largely stamped out by European governments. The native governments are tribal and the chiefs sustain themselves by their physical prowess and the help of priests and medicine men. The highest forms of government are those of Ashanti and Dahomey, which are a kind of feudal oligarchy with absolute power over life and property. Property is mainly in women and slaves, and inheritance is through the female, except among the nobility of Dahomey, where primogeniture rules. Written laws and records are unknown. The people are unstable, indifferent to suffering, and easily aroused to ferocity by the sight of blood or under great fear. They exhibit in Africa certain qualities which are associated with their descendants in this country, namely, aversion to silence and solitude, love of rhythm, excitability, and lack of reserve. All travelers speak of their impulsiveness, strong sexual passion, and lack of will power.

Such, in brief, were the land and the people that furnished one sixth of our total population and two fifths of our southern population. In shifting a people from the torrid climate of equatorial Africa to the temperate regions of America, and from an environment of savagery to one of civilization, changes more momentous than those of any other migration have occurred. First, it was only the strongest physical specimens who survived the horrible tests of the slave catcher and the slave ship. Slavery, too, as a system, could use to best advantage those who were docile and hardy, and not those who were independent and feeble. Just as in the many thousand years of man's domestication of animals, the balky horse has been almost eliminated by artificial selection, so slavery tended to transform the savage by eliminating those



who were self willed, ambitious, and possessed of individual initiative.

Other races of immigrants, by contact with our institutions, have been civilized—the negro has been only domesticated. Civilization offers an outlet for those who are morally and intellectually vigorous enough to break away from the stolid mass of their fellows; domestication dreads and suppresses them as dangerous rebels. The very qualities of intelligence and manliness which are essential for citizenship in a democracy were systematically expunged from the negro race through two hundred years of slavery. And then, by the cataclysm of a war of emancipation in which it took no part, this race, after many thousand years of savagery and two centuries of slavery, was suddenly let loose into the liberty of citizenship and the electoral suffrage. The world never before had seen such a triumph of dogmatism, and partisanship. It was dogmatism, because a theory of abstract equality and inalienable rights of man took the place of education and the slow evolution of moral character. It was partisanship, because a political party, taking advantage of its triumph in civil war, sought to perpetuate itself through amendments to the constitution. No wonder that this fateful alliance of doctrinaires and partisans brought fateful results.

True, there was a secondary object in view in granting the freedmen suffrage. The thirteenth amendment, adopted in 1865, legalized and extended the proclamation of emancipation, which had been a war measure. But this was followed by servile and penal laws in certain southern states designed to nullify the amendment. Congress then submitted the fourteenth amendment, which was adopted in 1867, creating a new grade of citizenship—citizenship of the nation—and prohibiting any state from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and from denying to any person the equal protection of the laws. But this was not enough. The next step was the fifteenth amendment, adopted in 1869, prohibiting any state from denying the suffrage to citizens of the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Thus, equality before the law was to be protected by equality in making the law. This

object was a worthy one, and it added the appearance of logical necessity to the theories of the doctrinaires and the schemes of the partisans. But it failed, because based on a wrong theory of the ballot. The suffrage means literally self government. Self government means intelligence, self control, and capacity for co-operation. If these are lacking, the ballot only makes way for the boss, the corruptionist, and the oligarchy under the cloak of democracy. The suffrage must be earned, and not merely conferred, if it is to be an instrument of self protection.

For eight years the governments of the southern states were in the hands of the negroes. Two different policies were pursued by the whites. In Georgia they accepted the conditions and took part in the elections. In South Carolina and other states they refrained from voting. The results were correspondingly different. Georgia never suffered from negro domination as did other states, and never went through the violent reaction of the Kuklux period. But in a state like South Carolina, with more than a majority of the voters belonging to the black race, the whites were overcome both by resentment toward the policy and by the hopelessness of the situation. The result of turning a state over to ignorant and untried voters was an enormous increase of debt without corresponding public improvements or public enterprises. Even the negro governments themselves, after four or five years began to repudiate these debts, and they were almost wholly repudiated by the whites after returning to power.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the methods by which the white voters regained and kept control of the states. Admittedly it was through intimidation, murder, ballot box stuffing, and false counting. The negro vote has almost disappeared, and in more recent years that which was accomplished through violence is perpetuated through law. Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Virginia have adopted so-called educational tests with such adroit exceptions that white illiterates may vote, but negroes, whether literate or illiterate, may be excluded from voting. The fifteenth amendment, by decisions of the United States Supreme court on cases arising in Alabama and Ken-

tucky, has been rendered inoperative, and with these decisions it may be taken for granted that the negro will not again in the near future enjoy the privilege of a free ballot.

This is a situation in which the north is as deeply interested as the south. The south, during the period of slavery, through the privilege of counting three fifths of the slaves, enjoyed a predominance in congress and in presidential elections beyond its proportion of white voters. The south now enjoys a greater privilege because it counts all the negroes. The fourteenth amendment expressly provides for a situation like this. It says:

When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice president of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty one years of age in such state.

Whether it will be possible under our form of government to carry out this provision of the fourteenth amendment may be doubted, but that it is fast becoming a question of live interest is certain. The educational test is a rational test, but it is rational only when the state makes an honest and diligent effort to equip every man to pass the test. The great lesson already learned is that we must begin over again the preparation of the negro for citizenship. This time the work will begin at the bottom by educating the negro for the ballot, instead of beginning at the top by giving him the ballot before he knows what it should do for him. What shall be the nature of this education?

Intelligence is more than books and letters—it is knowledge of the forces of nature and ingenuity enough to use them for human service. The negro is generally acknowledged to be lacking in the mechanical idea. In Africa he hardly knows the simplest mechanical principles, such as that of the lever. In America the brightest of the negroes were trained during

slavery by their masters in the handicrafts, such as carpentry, shoemaking, spinning, weaving, blacksmithing, tailoring, and so on. A plantation became a self supporting unit under the oversight and discipline of the whites, but the work of the negro artisans was for the most part careless and inefficient. Since emancipation the young generation has not learned the mechanical trades to the same extent as the slave generations. Moreover, as machinery supplants tools, and factories supplant handicrafts, the negro is left still farther behind. White men, says a negro speaker, are bringing science and art into menial occupations and lifting them beyond our reach. In my boyhood the walls and ceilings were whitewashed each spring by colored men; now they are decorated by skilled white artisans. Then the carpets were beaten by colored men; now this is done by a white man managing a steam carpet cleaning works. Then the laundry work was done by negroes; now they are with difficulty able to manage the new labor saving machinery.

Individual negroes have made great progress, but what we need to know is whether the masses of the negroes have advanced. The investigators of Atlanta university, in summarizing the reports of three hundred and forty four employers of negroes, conclude: "There are a large number of negro mechanics all over the land, but especially in the south. Some of these are progressive, efficient workmen. More are careless, slovenly, and ill trained. There are signs of lethargy among these artisans, and work is slipping from them in some places; in others they are awakening and seizing the opportunities of the new industrial south."

The prejudice of white workmen has undoubtedly played a part in excluding the negro from mechanical trades, but the testimony of large employers, who have no race prejudice where profits can be made, also shows that low priced negro labor costs more than high priced white labor. The iron and steel mills of Alabama have no advantage in the labor cost over the mills of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The foundation of intelligence for the modern workingman is his understanding of mechanics. Not until he learns through manual and technical training to handle the forces

of nature can the workingman rise to positions of responsibility and independence. This is as important in agricultural labor, to which the negro is largely restricted, as in manufactures. Intelligence in mechanics makes way for intelligence in economics and politics, and the higher wages of mechanical intelligence furnish the resources by which the workman can demand and secure his political and economic rights.

The second requisite of democracy is independence and manliness. These are moral qualities based on will power and steadfastness in pursuit of a worthy object. But these qualities are not produced merely by exhortation and religious revivals. They have a more prosaic foundation. History shows that no class or nation has risen to independence without first accumulating property. However much we disparage the qualities of greed and selfishness which the rush for wealth has made obnoxious, we must acknowledge that the solid basis of the virtues is thrift. The improvidence of the negro is notorious. His neglect of his horse, his mule, his machinery, his eagerness to spend his earnings on finery, his reckless purchase of watermelons, chickens and garden stuff when he might easily grow them on his own patch of ground, these and many other incidents of improvidence explain the constant dependence of the negro upon his employer and his creditor. The oft-quoted increase in landed property owned by negroes has been shown to be more the result of increased values of urban and suburban land than increased acreage. The negro landowner has become well-to-do not so much by his own thrift as by the accidental unearned increment which the growth of society has added to the value of his land.

There are, of course, notable exceptions where negroes have accumulated property through diligent attention and careful oversight. These are all the more notable when it is remembered that the education of the negro has directed his energies to the honors of the learned professions rather than to the commonplace virtues of ownership, and that one great practical experiment in thrift—the Freedman's Bank—went down through dishonesty and incapacity. With the more

recent development of the remarkable institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee and their emphasis on manual training and property accumulation, it is to be expected that these basic qualities of intelligence and independence will receive practical and direct encouragement.

Co-operation is the third and capital equipment for attaining the rights of citizenship. There are two forms of co-operation—a lower and a higher. The lower is that of the chief or the boss who marshals his ignorant followers through fear or spoils. The higher is that of self government where those who join together do so through their own intelligence and mutual confidence. In the lower form there are personal jealousies and factional contests which prevent united action under elected leaders. Negro bosses and foremen are more despotic than white bosses. The Colored Farmers' Alliance depended upon white men for leadership. The white carpetbaggers organized the negro vote in the reconstruction period. The negro was in this low stage of co-operation because he was jealous or distrustful of his fellow negro and could rally together only under the banner of a leader whom he could not depose. With the growth of intelligence and moral character there comes a deepening sense of the need of organization as well as leaders of their own race whom they can trust. The most hopeful indication of progress for the negroes is the large number of voluntary religious, beneficial and insurance societies whose membership is limited to their own color.

Liberty has always come through organization. The free cities of Europe were simply the guilds of peasants and merchants who organized to protect themselves against the feudal lords and bishops. Latterly they gained a voice in parliaments as the third estate, and established our modern representative democracy. The modern trade unions have become a power far in excess of their numbers through the capacity of the workman to organize. With the modest beginnings of self organization among negroes the way is opening for their more effective participation in the higher opportunities of our civilization.

The negro trade unionist has not as yet shown the organizing capacity of other races. Only among the mine workers and the longshoremen are they to be found in considerable numbers, although the carpenters have recently appointed a negro organizer. But in each of these cases the negro is being organized by the white man, not so much for his own protection as for the protection of the white workman. If the negro is brought to the position of refusing to work for lower wages than the white man he has taken the most difficult step in organization; for the labor union requires more than any other association in modern life, reliance upon the steadfastness of one's fellows. Unfortunately, when the negro demands the same wages as white men, his industrial inferiority leads the employer to take white men in his place, and here again we see how fundamental is the manual and technical intelligence above mentioned as a basis for all other progress.

It must not be inferred, because we have emphasized these qualities of intelligence, manliness, and co-operation as preparatory to political rights, that the negro race should be deprived of the suffrage until such time as its members acquire these qualities. Many individuals have already acquired them. To exclude such individuals from the suffrage is to shut the door of hope to all. An honest educational test, honestly enforced on both whites and blacks, is the simplest rough and ready method for measuring the progress of individuals in these qualities of citizenship. There is no problem before the American people more vital to democratic institutions than that of keeping the suffrage open to the negro and at the same time preparing the negro to profit by the suffrage.

After the census of 1880 it was confidently asserted that the negro population was increasing more rapidly than the white population. But these assertions, since the census of 1890, have disappeared. It then became apparent that the supposed increase from 1870 to 1880 was based on a defective count in 1870, the first census after emancipation. In reality the negro element, including mulattoes, during the one hundred and ten years of census taking, has steadily

declined in proportion to the white element. Although negroes in absolute numbers have increased from 775,000 in 1790 to 4,442,000 in 1860, and 8,841,000 in 1900, yet in 1790 they were one fifth of the total population; in 1860 they were one seventh and in 1900 only one ninth.

It is naturally suggested that this relative decrease in negro population has been owing to the large immigration of whites, but the inference is unwarranted. In the southern states the foreign element has increased less rapidly than the native white element, yet it is in the southern states that the negro is most clearly falling behind. From 1890 to 1900 the native whites in the South Atlantic states increased 20.5 per cent and the negroes only 14.3 per cent; in the south central states the native whites increased 19.2 per cent and the negroes only 10.9 per cent. In only six southern states, namely, West Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, have the negroes, during the past ten years, increased more rapidly than the whites, and in only three of these states, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, was the increase significant. In but two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, does the negro element predominate, and in another state, Louisiana, a majority were negroes in 1890 but a majority were whites in 1900.

This redistribution of negroes is the most interesting and significant fact regarding the race, and has a bearing on its future. Two movements are taking place, first to the fertile bottom lands of the southern states, second to the cities, both north and south. Mr. Carl Kelsey has prepared a geological map of Alabama, which with Mississippi, has received the largest accession of negroes, and has shown the density of negro population according to the character of the soil. In this map it appears that the prairie and valley regions contain a proportion of 50 per cent to 90 per cent negroes while the sand hill and pine levels contain only ten per cent to 50 per cent, and the piedmont or foothill region is less than 10 per cent. A similar segregation is found in other southern states, especially the alluvial districts of Mississippi and Arkansas. In these fertile sections toward which the negroes gravitate, the crops are enormous, and Mr. Kelsey



points out a curious misconception in the census of 1900, wherein the inference is drawn that negroes are better farmers than whites, because they raise larger crops. "No wonder the negroes' crops are larger, when the whites farm the hill country and the negroes till the delta which will raise twice as much cotton per acre as the hills." Furthermore, the negro, whether tenant or owner, is under the close supervision of a white landlord or creditor, who in self protection keeps control of him, whereas the white farmer is left to succeed or fail without expert guidance.

The migration of negroes to the cities is extremely significant. In ten southern states the proportion of the colored population was almost exactly the same in 1880 as it had been in 1860—namely, 36 per cent—yet in sixteen cities of those states as shown by Mr. Hoffman, the colored proportion increased from 19 per cent in 1860 to 29 per cent in 1890. This relative increase, however, did not continue after 1890, for, according to the census of 1900, the proportion of negroes was still 29 per cent. The white population of Chicago increased threefold from 1880 to 1900, and the colored population fivefold. The white population of Philadelphia, during the same period increased 50 per cent and the colored population 100 per cent.

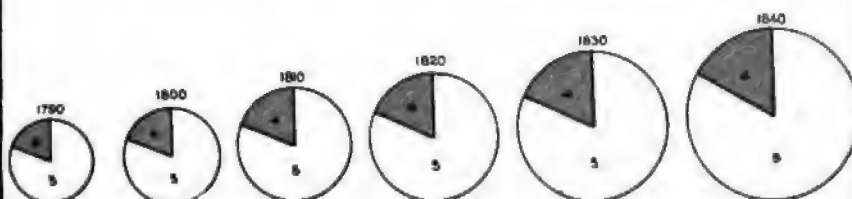
Were the negroes in the cities to scatter through all sections, the predominating numbers of the white element might have an elevating influence, but, instead, the negroes congregate in the poorer wards where both poverty and vice prevail. Hoffman has shown that two thirds of the negroes in Chicago live in three wards which contain all the houses of ill fame in that part of the city. The same is true of Philadelphia, Boston and Cincinnati. In these sections negro prostitution has become an established institution, catering to the Italian and other lower grades of immigrants, and supporting in idleness many negro men as solicitors.

We have seen that the negro population has not kept pace with the native white population. The reason is found in the smaller excess of births over deaths. Statistics of births are almost entirely lacking in the United States. Statistics of deaths are complete for only ten northern states



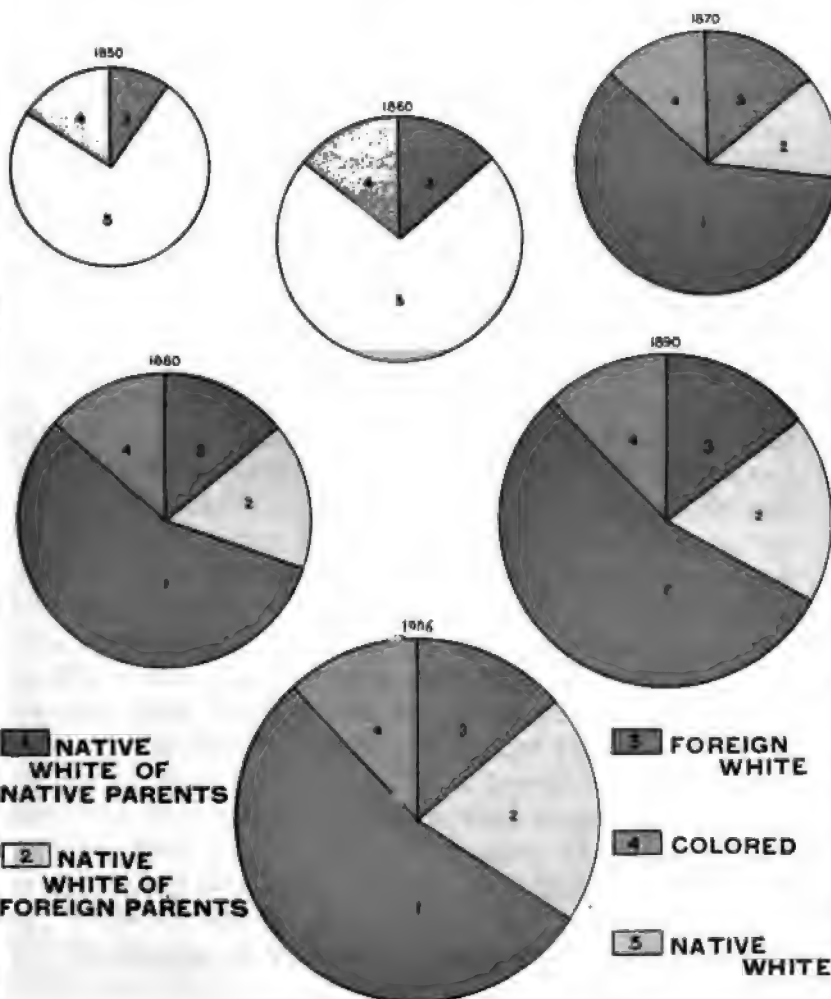


# THE TOTAL POPULATION AND ITS ELEMENTS



1790 TO 1840 WHITE  

COLORED



NATIVE  
WHITE OF  
NATIVE PARENTS

2 NATIVE  
WHITE OF  
FOREIGN PARENTS

3 FOREIGN  
WHITE

COLORED

5 NATIVE  
WHITE



and a few southern cities, containing, in 1900, in all, 28,000,000 whites and 1,180,000 negroes. Of this number, 20,000,000 whites and 1,100,000 negroes lived in cities, so that the showing which the census is able to give is mainly for cities north and south and for rural sections in the north. It appears that for every 1,000 colored persons living in these cities the deaths in 1900 were 30.5, while for every 1,000 white persons the deaths were only 17.9. That is to say, the colored death rate was 70 per cent greater than the white death rate.

In the rural districts there was much less difference. The colored death rate was 19 and the white death rate 15.3, a colored excess of only 24 per cent.

In explaining the excessive colored mortality, there are two classes of opinions. One explains it by social conditions, the other by race traits. The one points to environment, the other to moral character. The one is socialistic, the other individualistic. These different views exist among colored people themselves, and one of the encouraging signs is the scientific and candid interest in the subject taken by them under the leadership of Atlanta university. A colored physician who takes the first view states his case forcibly:

"Is it any wonder that we die faster than our white brother when he gets the first and best attention, while we are neglected on all sides? They have the best wards and treatment at the hospital, while we must take it second hand or not at all; they have all the homes for the poor and friendless, we have none; they have a home for fallen women, we have none; they have the public libraries where they can get and read books on hygiene and other subjects pertaining to health, we have no such privileges; they have the gymnasiums where they can go and develop themselves physically, we have not; they have all the parks where they and their children can go in the hot summer days and breathe the pure, cool air, but for fear we might catch a breath of that air and live, they put up large signs, which read thus: 'For white people only'; they live in the best homes, while we live in humble ones; they live in the cleanest and healthiest parts of the city, while we live in the sickliest and filthiest parts of the city; the streets on which they live are cleaned once and

twice a day, the streets on which we live are not cleaned once a month, and some not at all; besides, they have plenty of money with which they can get any physician they wish, any medicine they need, and travel for their health when necessary; all of these blessings we are deprived of. Now, my friends, in the face of all these disadvantages, do you not think we are doing well to stay here as long as we do?"

Another colored writer, less eloquent, but not less accurate, in summarizing the statistics collected under the guidance of Atlanta university concludes:

"Overcrowding in tenements and houses occupied by colored people does not exist to any great extent, and is less than was supposed. In comparison with white women, an excess of colored women support their families, or contribute to the family support, by occupation which takes them much of their time from home, to the neglect of their children. Environment and the sanitary condition of houses are not chiefly responsible for the excessive mortality among colored people.

"Ignorance and disregard of the laws of health are responsible for a large proportion of this excessive mortality."

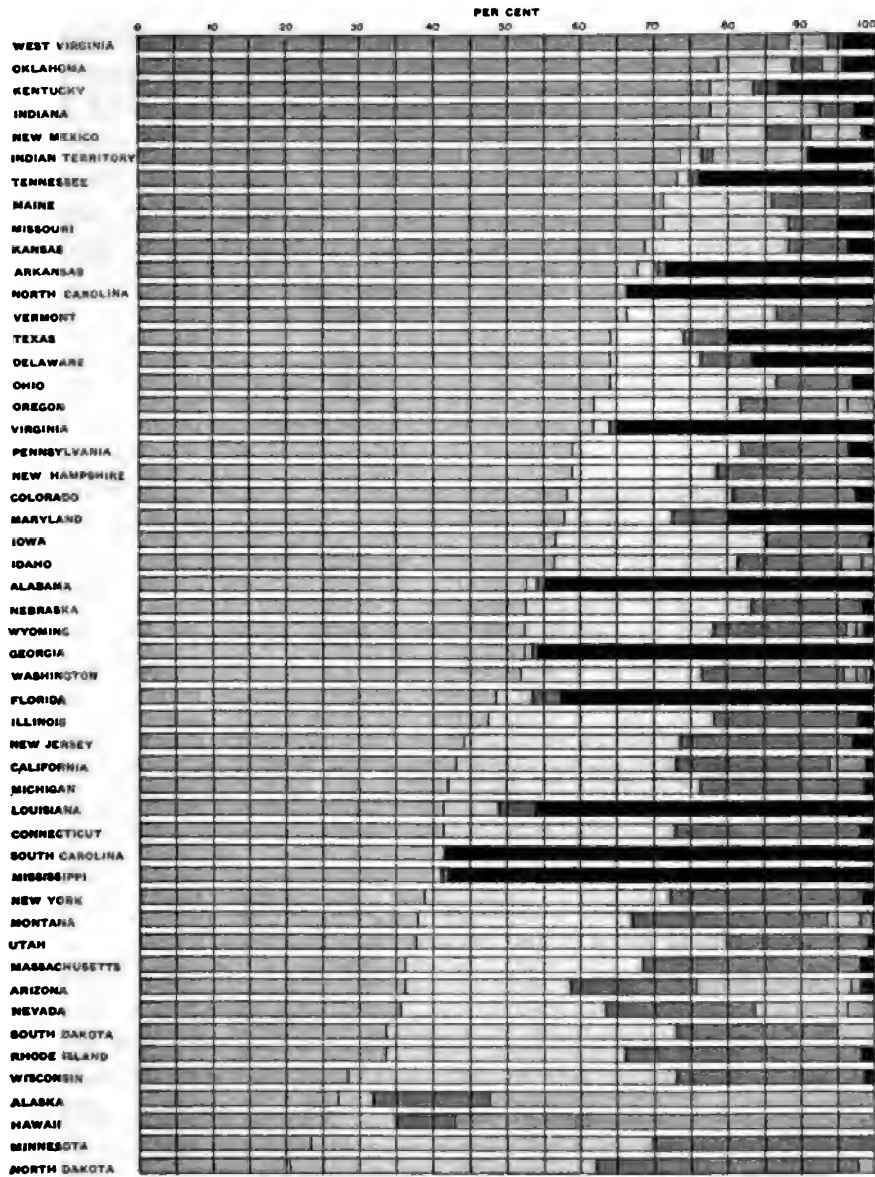
It is pointed out by these colored students, and by many others, that the excessive mortality of colored people is owing to pulmonary consumption, scrofula, and syphilis, all of which are constitutional; and to infant mortality due also to constitutional and congenital disease. The census of 1900 reports that for every 1,000 white children under five years of age there were 52 deaths in one year, and for every 1,000 colored children under five years there were 371 deaths, an excess of colored infant mortality of 613 per cent. The census also reports that colored deaths owing to consumption are 2.7 times as many as white deaths; colored deaths owing to pneumonia are twice as great, while deaths owing to contagious causes such as measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, are no greater or actually less than the white deaths in proportion to population. In the city of Charleston, South Carolina, where mortality statistics of negroes were compiled before the war, it is shown that from 1822 to 1848 the colored death rate from consumption was a trifle less than







# CONSTITUENTS OF THE POPULATION OF STATES AND TERRITORIES



■ NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTS    □ NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN PARENTS  
 ■ FOREIGN WHITE    □ INDIANS  
 ■ CHINESE AND JAPANESE    ■ NEGRO



the white, but since 1865 the white mortality from that cause has decreased while the colored mortality has increased. At a conference held at Atlanta university, Professor Harris, of Fisk university, concluded:

"I have now covered the ground to which our excessive death rate is mainly due; namely, pulmonary diseases, especially consumption and pneumonia, scrofula, venereal diseases and infant mortality. If we eliminate these diseases our excessive death rate will be a thing of the past. . . . While I do not depreciate sanitary regulations and a knowledge of hygienic laws, I am convinced that a sine qua non of a change for the better in the negro's physical condition is a higher social morality. . . . From the health reports of all our large southern cities we learn that a considerable amount of our infant mortality is due to inanition, infantile debility, and infantile marasmus. Now what is the case in regard to these diseases? The fact is that they are not diseases at all, but merely the names of symptoms due to enfeebled constitutions and congenital diseases, inherited from parents suffering from the effects of sexual immorality and debauchery. . . . It is true that much of the moral laxity which exists among us to-day arose out of slavery. . . . But to explain it is not to excuse it. It is no longer our misfortune as it was before the war; it is our sin, the wages of which is our excessive number of deaths. . . . The presence of tubercular and scrofulous diseases, consumption, syphilis and leprosy has caused the weaker nations of the earth to succumb before the rising tide of Christian civilization. . . . The history of nations teaches us that neither war, nor famine, nor pestilence exterminates them so completely as do sexual vices."

It is only since the year 1820 that the government of the United States has kept a record of the number of alien passengers arriving in this country. For several years following 1820 the immigration was so slight as to be almost negligible. It was not until 1820 that there were more than 20,000 arrivals. So accustomed have we become to large figures of immigration, that nothing less than 100,000 seems worth noting, and this figure was not reached until 1842.

Since then there have been only four years of less than 100,000, and two of these were years of the civil war.

A striking fact which first attracts the attention of one who examines the statistics since 1840 is the close sympathy between immigration and the industrial prosperity and depression of this country. Indeed, so close is the connection that many who comment on the question have held that immigration during the past century has been strictly an industrial or economic phenomenon, depending on the opportunities in this country, and that the religious and political causes which stimulated earlier immigration no longer hold good.

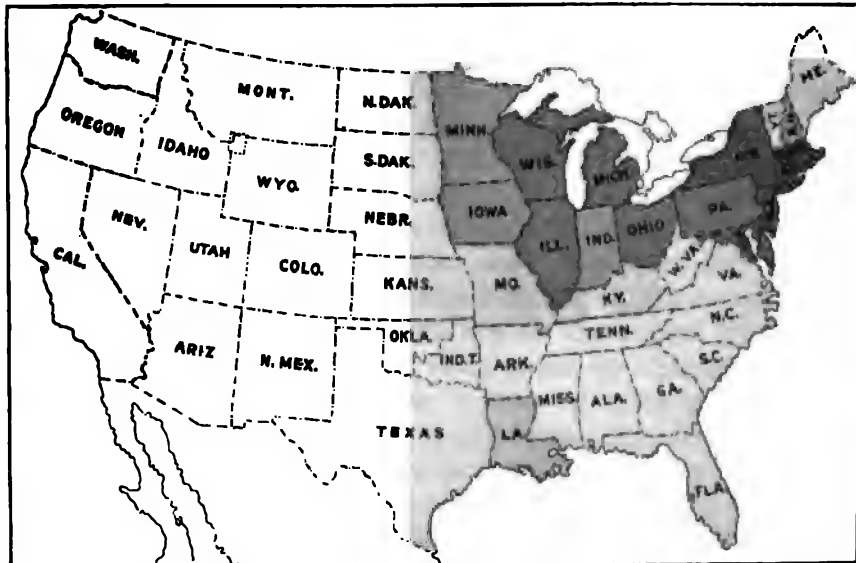
It is well known that when business is active and there is an increasing volume of sales and increasing employment for workmen, the prices of commodities rise, and conversely, when business is on the down grade following a panic, there is a decline in prices. By combining, therefore, the average prices of given quantities of commodities for successive years, economists have devised a so-called index number of general prices, which shows quite accurately the cycles of prosperity and depression. We see, in the first place, that there was a steady decline of prices from 1840 to 1849, and yet we see there was an increase in immigration. There must have been during this period reasons for immigration other than the industrial conditions in this country. The civil war, of course, greatly retarded immigration, but since that time the correspondence between prices and immigration has been close. Both reached high points in 1873, and fell to very low points in 1879; then rose in 1882 and fell in 1884; then reached another high point in 1893 and a low point in 1897; and finally the period of prosperity and high prices brought the largest immigration in the history of the country.

In following the history of immigration by races we shall see to what extent the alleged coincidence between prosperity and immigration may be counted as a social law. Certainly in the middle of the century it was not so much the opportunities for employment in this country as it was conditions in Europe that drove people to our shores. When we come to inquire as to the nationalities which constituted





### DENSITY OF FOREIGN BORN POPULATION:



LESS THAN 1 TO A SQ. MILE    1 TO 4 TO A SQ. MILE    4 TO 8 TO A SQ. MILE  
 8 TO 25 TO A SQ. MILE    25 AND OVER TO A SQ. MILE

### DENSITY OF NEGRO POPULATION:



LESS THAN 1 TO A SQ. MILE    1 TO 4 TO A SQ. MILE    4 TO 8 TO A SQ. MILE  
 8 TO 25 TO A SQ. MILE    25 AND OVER TO A SQ. MILE





immigration at that period, we shall find what these causes were. In 1846 occurred the unparalleled potato rot in Ireland, when the year's crop of what had become the sole food staple of the peasantry of that island was entirely lost. The peasants had been reduced to subsistence on the cheapest of all staples through the operations of a system of landlordism scarcely ever paralleled on a large scale as a means of exploiting tenants. It was found that land used for potatoes would support three times the number as the same land sown to wheat and the small tenures or the cotter peasants paid the landlord a higher rent than could be obtained from larger cultivators. Reduced to a diet of potatoes by an economic system imposed by an alien race, the Irish people are one of the many examples which we find throughout our studies of a subject people driven to emigration by the economic injustices of a dominant race. We shall find the same at a later time in Austro-Hungary, whence the conquered Slav peoples are fleeing from the discrimination and impositions of the ruling Magyar. We shall find it in Russia whence the Jew, the Finn and the German are escaping from the oppression of the Slav; and we shall find it in Turkey whence the Armenian and the Syrian flee from the exactions of the Turk. Just so was it in Ireland in the latter half of the decade, 1840 to 1850, and the contention of the apologist for England that the famine which drove the Irish across the seas was an act of God, is but a weak effort to charge to a higher power the sufferings of a heartless system devised to convert the utmost life and energy of a subject race into gold for their exploiters. Much more nearly true of the part played by the Divine hand in this catastrophe is the report of the Society of Friends in Ireland, who had contributed generously to the relief of the starving, to the effect that the mysterious dispensation with which their country had been visited was a means permitted by an all wise Providence to exhibit more strikingly the unsound state of its social condition.

Thus we have an explanation of the incentives under which, even in a period of industrial depression in this country, the unfortunate Irish flocked hither. It is true that the

population of Ireland had increased during the century preceding the famine at a rate more rapid than that of any other country of Europe. It was 3,000,000 in 1790, and over 8,000,000 in the year of the famine. At the present time it is only 5,000,000. The potato, above all other crops, enables the cultivator to live from hand to mouth, and coupled with a landlord system which takes away all above mere subsistence, this demoralizing esculent aided the apparent over population. Certainly, the dependence of an entire people on a single crop was a most precarious condition.

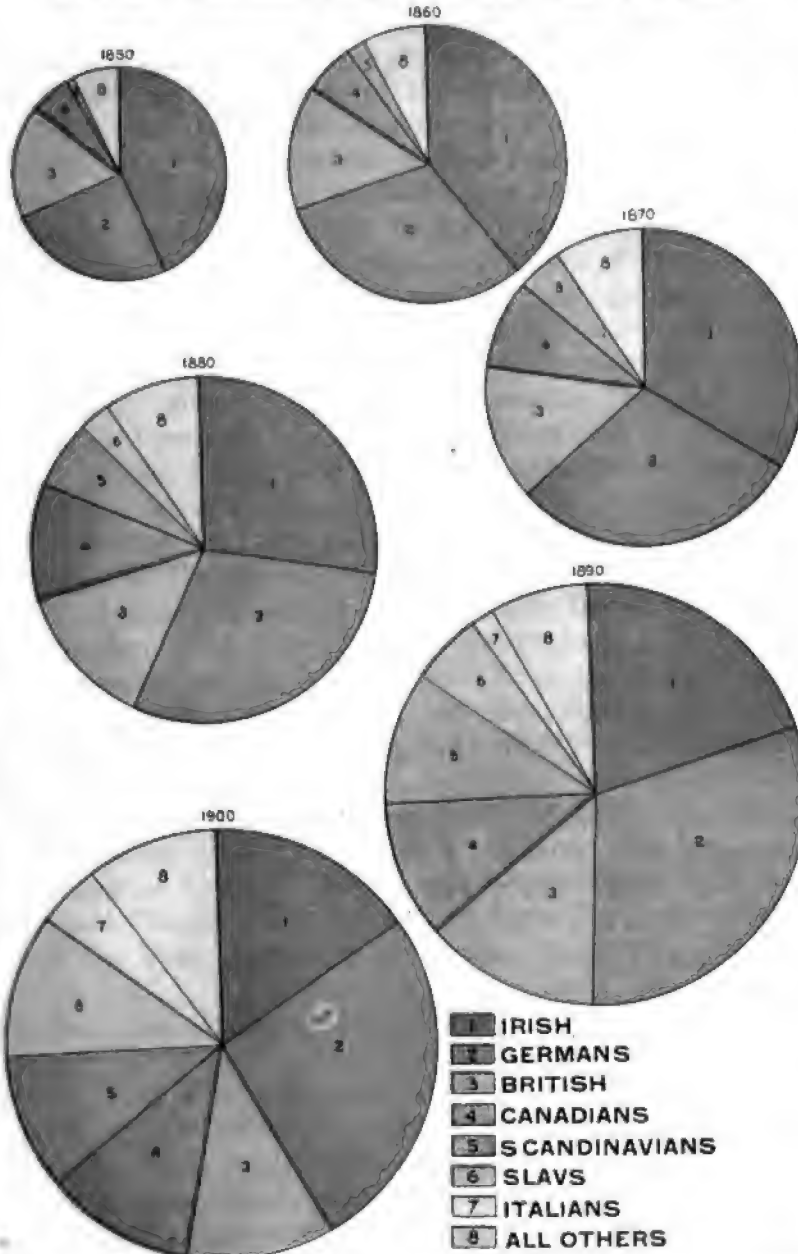
During the five years, 1846 to 1850, more than a million and a quarter of Irish emigrants left the ports of the United Kingdom, and during the ten years, 1845 to 1855, more than a million and a quarter came to the United States. So great a number could not have found means of transportation had it not been for the enormous contributions of government and private societies for assistance. Here began that exportation of paupers on a large scale against which our country has protested and finally legislated. Even this enormous migration was not greatly in excess of the number that actually perished from starvation or from the diseases incident thereto. The Irish migration since that time has never reached so high a point, although it made a second great advance in 1882, succeeding another famine, and it has now fallen far below that of eastern races of Europe. Altogether the total Irish immigration since 1821 places that race second in the contributors to our foreign population, and, compared with its own numbers, it leads the world, for in sixty years it sent to us half as many people as it contained at the time of its greatest numbers. Scarcely another country has sent more than one fifth.

Looking over a period of nearly three centuries, it is probably true that the Germans have crossed the ocean in larger numbers than any other race. We have already noted the large migration during the eighteenth century, and the official records show that since 1820 there have entered our ports more than 5,000,000 Germans, while Ireland was sending 4,000,000 and Great Britain 3,000,000.





**FOREIGN BORN AT EACH CENSUS, WITH THE PROPORTION  
OF EACH LEADING NATIONALITY: 1850 TO 1900.**





The German migration of the nineteenth century was quite distinct in character from that of the preceding century. The colonial migration was largely induced on religious grounds, but that of the past century was political and economic, with at first a notable prominence of materialism respecting religion. From the time of the Napoleonic wars to the revolution of 1848, the governments of Germany were despotic in character, supporting an established church, while at the same time the marvelous growth of the universities produced a class of educated liberals. In the revolution of 1848 these took a leading part, and although constitutional governments were then established, yet those who had been prominent in the popular uprisings found their position intolerable under the reactionary governments that followed. The political exiles sought America, bringing their liberalism in politics and religion, and forming with their descendants in American cities an intellectual aristocracy. They sprang from the middle classes of Germany, and latterly when the wars with Austria and France had provoked the spirit of militarism, thousands of peasants looked to emigration for escape from military service. The severe industrial depression of 1873-79 added a powerful contributing cause. Thus there were two periods when German migration culminated; first in 1854, on political grounds, second in 1882, on military and economic grounds. Since the latter date a significant decline has ensued, and the present migration of 25,000 is mainly the remnants of families seeking here their relatives. An equally large number of German immigrants comes from Austria-Hungary and Russia, the latter driven from the Baltic provinces and the Volga settlements by the Russianizing policy of the Slav.

Besides the Germans and the Irish, the races which contributed the largest number of immigrants during the middle years of the nineteenth century were the English and Scandinavian. After the decline during the depression of 1879 there was a remarkable increase of all those races in 1882, a year when nearly 800,000 immigrants arrived. At about that time began a remarkable change in the character of immigration destined to produce profound consequences.



This change was the rapid shifting of the sources of immigration from western to eastern and southern Europe. A line drawn across the continent of Europe from northeast to southwest separating the Scandinavian peninsula, the British Isles, Germany, and France from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Turkey, separates countries not only of distinct races but also of distinct civilizations. It separates Protestant Europe from Catholic Europe; it separates countries of representative institutions and popular government from absolute monarchies; it separates lands where education is universal from lands where illiteracy predominates; it separates manufacturing countries, progressive agriculture, and skilled labor from primitive hand industries, backward agriculture, and unskilled labor; it separates an educated, thrifty peasantry from a peasantry scarcely a single generation removed from serfdom; it separates Teutonic races from Latin, Slav, Semitic, and Mongolian races. When the sources of American immigration are shifted from the western countries so nearly allied to our own to eastern countries so remote in the main attributes of civilization, the change is one that should challenge the attention of every citizen. Such a change has occurred, and it needs only a comparison of the statistics of our immigration for the year 1882 with those of 1902 to see its extent. While the total number of immigrants from Europe and Asiatic Turkey was approximately equal in the two years selected, yet, in 1882, western Europe furnished 87 per cent of the immigrants and in 1902 only 22 per cent, while the share of southeastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey increased from 13 per cent in 1882 to 78 per cent in 1902. During twenty years the immigration of the western races most nearly related to those which have fashioned American institutions declined more than 75 per cent, while the immigrants of eastern and southern races, untrained in self government, increased nearly sixfold.

It was at this period that Italian immigration first became noticeable. Prior to 1880 this stream had been but the merest trickle, which now has become the greatest of all the foreign tributaries to our population. In 1873, the Italians for the first time reached 8,000 in number, but they fell to 3,000 in

1876, and so continued in moderate proportions, but suddenly in 1880 jumped to 12,000, and in 1882 to 32,000. Falling off again with the industrial depression to 13,000 in 1885, they reached 76,000 in 1891, and then with another depression, to 35,000 in 1895, they have now gone forward by leaps to the high mark of 200,000. The Italians seem destined to rival the Germans and Irish as the leading contributors to our social amalgam. Of course, only a small part are as yet women and children, but this is because the immigration is in its early and pioneer stages. The women and children follow rapidly when the men have saved enough money to send for them.

The immigrants from Italy differ from those from Austria, Russia, Hungary, and Ireland, in that they are not driven forth by the oppressions of a dominant race but as a result of the economic and political conditions of a united people. This does not indeed exclude oppression as a cause of expatriation, but it transfers the oppression from that of one race to that of one class upon another. By far the larger portion of Italian immigration comes from the southern provinces and from Sicily where the power of the landlords is greatest.

In these provinces of large estates held by the nobility, the rents have been forced to the highest notch, an orange garden paying as high as \$160 per year per acre, and the leases are short so that the tenant has little to encourage improvement. In many cases the land is rented by large capitalist farmers, who raise therefrom cattle, wheat, and olives, and are prosperous men. But their prosperity is extracted from the miserable wages of their laborers. The agricultural laborer gets from 8 cents to 32 cents a day through the year and 10 cents to 38 cents through the summer. Unskilled laborers get 23 cents to \$1.00 a day, and such skilled trades as masons and carpenters get only 27 cents to \$1.40 a day. This wide range of wages corresponds generally with the south and north, the lowest rates being in the south and the highest toward the north. In France and England wages are two and one half times higher than in Italy, while in Germany they are about 30 per cent to 50 per cent higher.

Nor must it be supposed that the cost of living is low to correspond with the low wages. This is largely owing to the

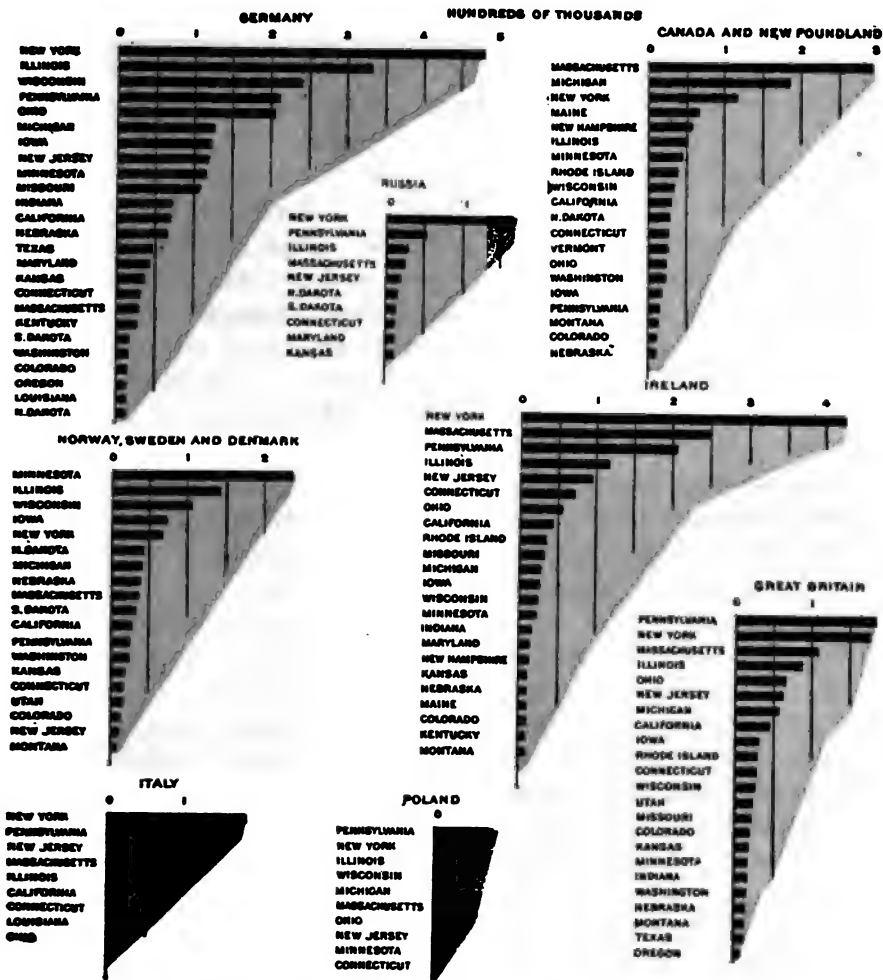
exaggerated system of indirect taxes, which has been described as progressive taxation topsy turvy—the less a man has the more he pays. Although wheat is a staple crop yet the peasants eat corn in preference, because, for a given expenditure, it gives a stronger sense of repletion. Of wheat and corn meal together the Italian peasant eats in a year only three fourths as much as the inmate of an English poorhouse. Of meat the peasant in Apulia gets no more than ten pounds a year, while the English workhouse pauper gets fifty seven pounds. The local taxes on flour, bread, and macaroni are as high as 10 per cent or 15 per cent of the value, and the state tax on imported wheat is nearly 50 per cent of its value. The consumption of sugar has decreased one fourth since heavy duties were imposed to protect native beet sugar, and it averages barely over five pounds per head. The consumption in the United States is sixty five pounds per head. The iniquitous salt tax raises the price of salt from eleven pounds for two cents to one pound for two cents, and the peasants sometimes cook their corn meal in sea water, although this is smuggling. What the peasants lack in grain and meat they strive to supply by vegetables, and the proportion of vegetables, peas, and beans consumed is greater than that for any other country of Europe. The peasants drink no beer, spirits, tea, nor coffee, but the average consumption of wine is twenty gallons a head. Food alone costs the peasants 85 per cent of their wages, whereas it costs the German peasant 62 per cent and the American workman 41 per cent. The poor and working classes pay over one half the taxes, amounting, even without wine, from 10 per cent to 20 per cent of their wages.

The rich escape taxation, which is laid largely on consumption. Besides the state tax on imports, each city and town has its octroi, or import tax on everything brought into the city. These protective duties rob the poor to fill the pockets of the rich landlord and manufacturer. Since 1870 wealth has increased 17 per cent and taxes 30 per cent. Taxes are nearly one fifth of the nation's income, against one twelfth in Germany, one sixteenth in England, and one fifteenth in the United States. Wages rose from 1860 to 1885, but since 1890 they have fallen.

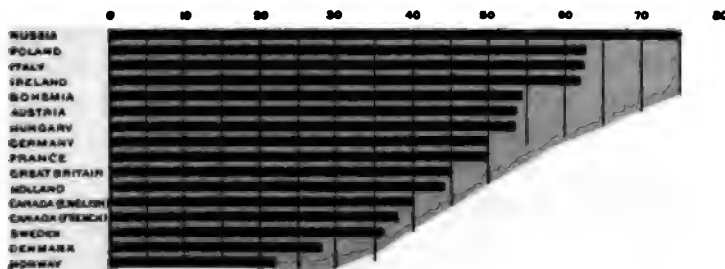




## DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES OF CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.



## PERCENTAGE OF EACH NATIVITY IN CITIES OF 25,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE.






The army and navy are the greatest drain on the resources of the people. They cost one fourth more of the national income than do the armies and navies of France and Germany. Eighty million dollars a year for military expenditures in Italy is over 5 per cent of the income of the people, whereas \$194,000,000 for the same purpose in the United States is less than 2 per cent of our incomes. In the triple alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, the latter country crushes its peasants in order to make a showing by the side of its wealthier partners. The army takes every able bodied peasant from industry into barracks and drills for two years of his best vigor. But the long line of exposed coast and the general military situation in Europe make it unlikely that Italy for many years can shake off this incubus.

There is, indeed, in recent years a movement of reform and public spirit in Italy. The socialist party has become the party of constitutional government, purity and idealism in public life, against the corruption and militarism which has dominated other parties. It includes many of the greatest leaders of Italian thought.

In addition to all these economic and political causes of pressure, there is another cause of a more profound nature, the rapid growth of population. Strange as it may seem, the very poverty of Italy increases the tendency to a high birth rate, and the rate is highest in the very districts where illiteracy and poverty are greatest. The birth rate is nearly the highest in Europe, and only the great number of deaths produced by poverty and unsanitation prevents the increase of population from exceeding that of the more rapidly growing countries of Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. It is not among those classes and nations, like the middle classes and the thrifty people of France, that the largest number of children are born, but it is among those ignorant and low standard peoples to whom the future offers no better prospect for their children than for themselves. Early marriages and large families are both a result and a cause of poverty. Parts of Lombardy and Venetia have a thicker population than any other European country except Belgium, which is really not a country but a manufacturing center of Europe. In general,





the density of population in Italy is far in excess of that of Germany or Austria or France. Emigration is the only immediate relief from this congestion. All other remedies, which operate through raising the intelligence and the standards of living, require years for appreciable results, but meanwhile the persistent birth rate crowds new competitors into the new openings and multiplies the need of economic and political reforms before they can be put into effect.

Emigration is a relief at hand, and for Italy it is more than a lessening of population—it is also a means of revenue for the mother country. For it is estimated that the peasants in foreign countries send back to their families and relatives \$30,000,000 to \$80,000,000 each year, and many of them return with what to them is a fortune, and with new ideas of industry and progress, to purchase and improve a farm and cottage for their declining years. It is said that already there are several small country towns in southern Italy which have risen from squalor to something of prosperity through the money and influence of those who have come home.

Besides this temporary emigration, there is an equally large permanent emigration. This is of two kinds, almost as entirely distinct from each other as the emigration from two separate nations. The north Italian is an educated, skilled artisan, coming from a manufacturing section and largely from the cities. The south Italian is an illiterate peasant from the great landed estates, with wages less than one third his northern compatriot. Unhappily for us, the north Italians do not come to the United States in considerable numbers, but they betake themselves to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil in about the same numbers as the south Italians come to us. It is estimated that in those three countries there are 3,000,000 Italians in a total population of 23,000,000, and they are mainly derived from the north of Italy. Surrounded by the unenterprising Spanish and Portuguese, they have shown themselves to be the industrial leaders of the country. Some of the chief buildings, banks, flour mills, textile mills, and a majority of the wheat farms of Argentina belong to Italians. They are one third of the population of Buenos Ayres and own one half of the commercial capital of that city. They become

bers of parliament, lawyers, and engineers, and an Italian  
een president of the republic of Argentina, while other  
ns have been ministers of war and education. While  
north Italians, with their enterprise, intelligence, and  
d capacities, go to South America, we receive the south  
ns who are nearly the most illiterate of all immigrants at  
resent time, the most subservient to superiors, the low-  
their standards of living, and at the same time the most  
trious and thrifty of all common laborers

## THE CAUSES OF RACE SUPERIORITY.

BY EDWARD A. ROSS.

[Edward Alsworth Ross, professor of sociology in the University of Nebraska; born Dec. 12, 1866, in Virden, Illinois; was educated at Coe college, Iowa, University of Berlin and Johns Hopkins; in 1891 he became professor of economics in Indiana university, in 1892, associate professor of political economy and finance at Cornell, and from 1893 to 1900 he was professor of sociology at the Leland Stanford university, California; he has been secretary of the American Economic association and advisory editor of the American Journal of Sociology, and associate of the Institute International de Sociologie; he is the author of *Honest Dollars*, *Social Control* and many articles in economic and sociological journals.]

The superiorities that, at a given time, one people may display over other peoples, are not necessarily racial. Physical inferiorities that disappear as the peoples are equalized in diet and dwelling; mental inferiorities that disappear when the peoples are levelled up in respect to culture and means of education, are due not to race but to condition, not to blood but to surroundings. In accounting for disparities among peoples there are, in fact, two opposite errors into which we may fall. There is the equality fallacy inherited from the earlier thought of the last century, which belittles race differences and has a robust faith in the power of intercourse and school instruction to lift up a backward folk to the level of the best. Then there is the counter fallacy, grown up since Darwin, which exaggerates the race factor and regards the actual differences of peoples as hereditary and fixed.

Just now the latter error is, perhaps, the more besetting. At a time when race is the watchword of the vulgar and when sciolists are pinning their faith to breed, we of all men ought to beware of it. We Americans who have so often seen the children of underfed, stunted, scrub immigrants match the native American in brain and brawn, in wit and grit, ought to realize how much the superior effectiveness of the latter is due to social conditions. Keleti, from his investigations in Hungary, has come to the conclusion that in most of the communes there the people have less to eat than is necessary to live and work, the result being alcohol-

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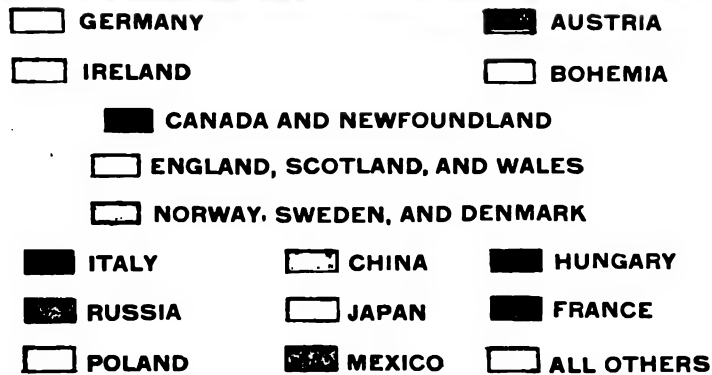
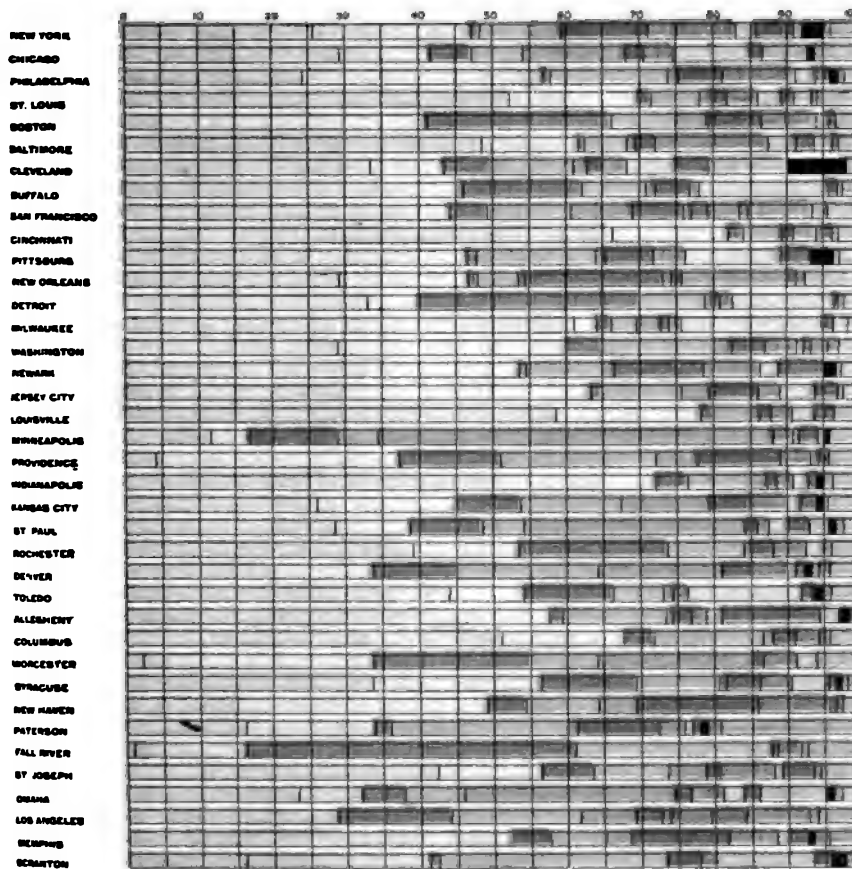
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# PROPORTION OF FOREIGN BORN OF EACH LEADING NATIONALITY IN CITIES OF 100,000 AND OVER:

PER CENT





m, weakness, disease, and early death. Atwater, on the other hand, has found that the average wage worker in New England consumes more food than health requires. What a host of consequences issue from this one primary contrast!

A generation ago, in the first enthusiasm over the marvels of heredity, we were taught that one race is monotheistic, another has an affinity for polytheism. One race is temperamentally aristocratic, while another is by instinct democratic. One race is innovating and radical, another is by nature conservative. But it is impossible to characterize races in respect to such large complex traits. A keener analysis connects these great historical contrasts with a number of slight specific differences in body or temperament. For example, four diverse traits of the greatest social importance, namely, progressiveness, the spirit of adventure, migrancy and the disposition to flock to cities, can be traced to a courageous confidence in the unknown coupled with the high physical tone that calls for action. Similarly, if we may believe Signor Ferrero, of two equally gifted races the one that the less sensual will be inferior in æsthetic output, less apt to cross with lower types, more loyal to the idea of duty, better adapted to monotonous factory labor, and more inclined to the Protestant form of religion. It is only by establishing fixed, specific differences of this kind that we can hope to explain those grand race contrasts that enchant the historian.

The first cause of race superiority to which I invite your attention is a physiological trait, namely, climatic adaptability. Just now it is a grave question whether the flourishing and thriving peoples of the North Temperate zone can provide outlets for their surplus population in the rich but undeveloped lands of the tropics. Their superiority, economic and military, over the peoples under the vertical sun is beyond cavil. But can they assert and profit by this superiority save by imposing on the natives of the tropics the heinous and demoralizing servile relation? Can the white man work and multiply in the tropics, or will his rôle be limited to commercial and industrial exploitation at a safe



distance by means of a changing, male contingent of soldiers, officials, business agents, planters, and overseers?

The answer is not yet sure, but the facts bearing on acclimatization are not comforting to our race. Immunity from the fevers that waste men in hot, humid climates seems to be in inverse ratio to energy. The French are more successful in tropical settlement than the Germans or the English. The Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians surpass the French in almost equal measure. When it comes to settling Africa, instead of merely exploring or subduing it, the peoples may unexpectedly change their rôles. With all their energy and their numbers the Anglo Saxons appear to be physiologically inelastic, and incapable of making of Guiana or the Philippines a home such as they have made in New Zealand or Minnesota. In the tropics their very virtues—their push, their uncompromising standards, their aversion to intermarriage with the natives—are their destruction.

Ominous, on the other hand, is the extraordinary power of accommodation enjoyed by the Mongolians. Says Professor Ripley: "The Chinese succeed in Guiana where the white man cannot live; and they thrive from Siberia where the mean temperature is below freezing, to Singapore on the equator." There are even some who believe that the Chinaman is destined to dispossess the Malay in southwestern Asia and the islands of the Pacific, and the Indian in the tropical parts of South America.

There is, indeed, such a thing as acclimatization; but this is virtually the creation at a frightful cost of a new race variety by climatic selection. We may, therefore, regard his lack of adaptability as a handicap which the white man must ever bear in competing with black, yellow, or brown men. His sciences and his inventions give him only a temporary advantage, for, as the facilities for diffusion increase, they must pass to all. Even his educational and political institutions will spread wherever they are suitable. All precedence founded on the possession of magazine rifles, or steam, or the press, or the Christian religion, must end as these elements merge into one all embracing, everywhere diffused, cosmopolitan culture. Even the advantage con-

ferred upon a race by closer political cohesion, or earlier development of the state, cannot last. Could we run the coming centuries through a kinetoscope, we should see all these things as mere clothes. For, in the last analysis, it is solely on its persistent physiological and psychological qualities that the ultimate destinies of a race depend.

The next truth to which I invite attention is, that one race may surpass another in energy. The average of individual energy is not a fixed race attribute, for new varieties are constantly being created by migration. The voluntary, unassisted migration of individuals to lands of opportunity tends always to the upbuilding of highly energetic communities and peoples. To the wilderness go, not the brainiest or noblest or highest bred, but certainly the strongest and the most enterprising. The weakling and the sluggard stay at home, or, if they are launched into the new conditions, they soon go under. The Boers are reputed to be of finer physique than their Dutch congeners. In America, before the days of exaggerated immigration, the immigrants were physically taller than the people from which they sprang, the difference amounting in some instances to an average of more than an inch. By measurements taken during the civil war the Scotch in America were found to exceed their countrymen by two inches. Moreover, the recruits hailing from other states than those in which they had been born were generally taller than those who had not changed their residence. The Kentuckians and the Texans have become proverbial for stature, while the surprising tallness of the ladies who will be found shopping, of an afternoon, on Kearney street in San Francisco, testifies to the bigness of the forty-niners. Comparative weights tell the same tale. Of the recruits in our civil war, the New Englanders weighed 140 pounds, the middle state men 141 pounds, the Ohians and Indianans 145 pounds, and the Kentuckians 150. Conversely, where, as in Sardinia, the population is the leavings of continued emigration, the stature is extraordinarily low.

This principle that repeated migrations tend to the creation of energetic races of men, opens up enchanting vistas of explanation in the jungle of history. Successive waves of

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conquest breaking over a land like Sicily or India may signify that a race, once keyed up to a high pitch of energy by gradual migration from its ancient seats, tends to run down as soon as such beneficent selections are interrupted by success, and settlement in a new home. Cankered by a long quiet it falls a prey in a few centuries to some other people that has likewise been keyed up by migration.

Again, this principle may account for the fact that those branches of a race achieve the most brilliant success which have wandered the farthest from their ancestral home. Of the Mongols that borrowed the old Babylonian culture, those who pushed across Asia to the Yellow sea have risen the highest. The Arabs and Moors that skirted Africa and won a home in far away Spain, developed the most brilliant of the Saracenic civilizations. Hebrews, Dorians, Quirites, Rajputs, Hovas were far invaders. No communities in classic times flourished like the cities in Asia created by the overflow from Greece. Nowhere under the Czar are there such vigorous, progressive communities as in Siberia. By the middle of this century, perhaps, the Russian on the Yenesei or the Amur will be known for his push and hustle as is to-day the American on Lake Michigan or Puget sound. It is, perhaps, on this principle that the men who made their way to the British Isles have shown themselves the most masterful and achieving of the Germanic race; while their offshoots in America and Australia, in spite of some mixture, show the highest level of individual efficiency found in any people of the Anglo Saxon breed. Even in America there is a difference between the east and the west. The listlessness and social decay noticeable in many of the rural communities and old historic towns on the Atlantic slope, are due, no doubt, to the loss of their more energetic members to the rising cities and to the west.

There is no doubt that the form of society which a race adopts is potent to paralyze or to release its energy. In this respect Americans are especially fortunate, for their energies are stimulated to the utmost by democracy. I refer not to popular government, but to the fact that with us social status depends little on birth and much on personal success. I will

not deny that money, not merit, is frequently the test of social standing, and that Titania is often found kissing the fair long ears of some Bottom; but the commercial spirit, even if it cannot lend society nobility or worth, certainly encourages men to strive.

Where there is no rank or title or monarch to consecrate the hereditary principle, the capillarity of society is great, and ambition is whetted to its keenest edge. For it is hope, not need, that animates men. Set ladders before them and they will climb until their heartstrings snap.

Without a social ladder, without infection from a leisure class that keys up its standard of comfort, a body of yeomen settling in a new and fertile land will be content with simplicity and rude plenty. A certain sluggishness prevails now among the Boers, as it prevailed among the first settlers beyond the Alleghenies. If, on the other hand, there is a social ladder, but it is occupied by those of a military or hereditary position, as in the Spanish communities of the southwest, there is likewise no stimulus to energy. But if vigorous men form new communities in close enough touch with rich and old communities to accept their exacting standards of comfort, without at the same time accepting their social ranking, each man has the greatest possible incentive to improve his condition. Such has been the relation of America to England, and of the west to the east.

This is why America spells opportunity. Inspired by hope and ambition the last two generations of Americans have amazed the world by the breathless speed with which they have subdued the western half of the continent, and filled the wilderness with homes and cities. Never has the world seen such prodigies of labor, such miracles of enterprise, as the creation within a single lifetime of a vast ordered, civilized life between the Mississippi and the Pacific. Witnessing such lavish expenditures of human force, can we wonder at American rush, American nervousness and heart failure, at gray hairs in the thirties and old age in the fifties, at our proverb, Time is money! and at the ubiquitous American rocking chair or hammock which enables a tired man to rest very quickly!

Closely related to energy is the virtue of self reliance. There is a boldness which rises at the elbow touch of one's fellows, and there is a stout-heartedness which inspires a man when he is alone. There is a courage which confronts resolutely a known danger, and a courage which faces perils unknown or vague. Now, it is this latter quality—self reliance—which characterizes those who have migrated the oftenest and have migrated as individuals. On our frontier has always been found the Daniel Boone type, who cared little for the support of his kind and loved danger and adventure for its own sake. The American's faith in himself and confidence in the friendliness of the unknown may be due to his enlightenment, but it is more likely the unapprehensiveness that runs in the blood of a pioneering breed. Sometimes, as in the successive trekkings of the Boers from Cape Town to the Limpopo, the trait most intensified is independence and self reliance. Sometimes, as in the settling of the trans-Mississippi region, the premium is put on energy and push. But in any case voluntary migration demands men.

Even in an old country, that element of the population is destined to riches and power which excels in self reliance and enterprise. Cities are now the places of opportunity and of prosperity, and it has been shown conclusively that, in the urban upbuilding now going on in central Europe, where long skull Teutons and broad skull Celto-Slavs are mingled, the cities are more Teutonic than the rural districts from which their population is recruited. The city is a magnet for the more venturesome, and it draws to it more of the long skulled race than of the broad skulled race. In spite of the fact that he has no greater wit and capacity than the Celt, the Teuton's superior migrancy takes him to the foci of prosperity, and procures him a higher reward and a superior social status.

Wherever there is pioneering or settlement to do, self reliance is a supreme advantage. The expansion of the English speaking peoples in the nineteenth century—the English in building their empire, the Americans in subduing the west—seems to be due to this trait. Self reliance is, in

fact, a sovereign virtue in times of ferment or displacement. In static times, however, other qualities outweigh it, and the victory may fall to those who are patient, obedient, and quick witted, rather than to the independent in spirit. If this be so, then the great question of the hour, What is to be the near destiny of the Anglo Saxon race? involves the question whether we stand on the threshold of a dynamic, or a static epoch. If the former, well for the Anglo Saxon; if the latter, it may be the Latins who, renewing their faith in themselves, will forge ahead.

I think there can be no doubt that we are entering a tumultuously dynamic epoch. Science, machinery and steam—our heritage from the past century—together constitute a new economic civilization which is destined to work in the world a transformation such as the plow works among nomads. Two centuries ago Europe had little to offer Asia in an industrial way. Now, in western Europe and in America, there exists an industrial technique which alters the face of society wherever it goes. The exploitation of nature and man by steam and machinery directed by technical knowledge, has the strongest of human forces behind it, and nothing can check its triumphant expansion over the planet. The Arab spreads the religion of Mahomet with the koran in one hand and the sword in the other. The white man of to-day spreads his economic gospel, one hand on a Gatling, the other on a locomotive.

It will take at least two or three generations to level up the industrial methods of continents like South America or Africa or Asia, as a Jamaica, a Martinique, or a Hawaii have been levelled up; and all this time that race which excels in energy, self reliance and education will have the advantage. When this furiously dynamic epoch closes, when the world becomes more static, and uniformism recurs, self reliance will be at a discount, and the conditions will again favor the race that is patient, laborious, frugal, intelligent and apt in consolidation. Then, perhaps, the Celtic and Mediterranean races will score against the Anglo Saxon.

For economic greatness perhaps no quality is more important than foresight. To live from hand to mouth, taking

no thought of the morrow, is the trait of primitive man generally, and especially of the races in the tropical lands where nature is bounteous, and the strenuous races have not yet made their competition felt. From the Rio Grande to the Rio de la Plata, the laboring masses, largely of Indian breed, are without a compelling vision of the future. The Mexicans, our consuls write us, are "occupied in obtaining food and amusement for the passing hour without either hope or desire for a better future." They are always in debt, and the workman hired for a job asks something in advance to buy materials or to get something to eat. Slaves of local attachments, they will not migrate in order to get higher wages. In Ecuador the laborer lets to-morrow take care of itself and makes no effort to accumulate. In Guiana, where Hindoos, Chinese, Portuguese, and Creoles labor side by side, the latter squander their earnings, while the immigrants from the old economic civilizations all lay by in order to return home and enjoy. In Columbia the natives will not save, nor will they work in order to supply themselves with comforts. In British Honduras the natives are happy-go-lucky negroes who rarely save and who spend their earnings on festivals and extravagances, rather than on comforts and decencies. In Venezuela the laborers live for to-day and all their week's earnings are gone by Monday morning. The Brazilians work as little as they can and live, and save no money; are satisfied so long as they have a place to sleep and enough to eat.

Since, under modern conditions, abundant production is bound up, not so much with patient toil, as with the possession of ample capital, it is evident that, in the economic rivalry of races, the palm goes to the race that discounts the future least and is willing to exchange present pleasures for future gratifications most nearly at par. The power to do this depends partly on a lively imagination of remote experiences to come, partly on the self control that can deny present cravings, or resist temptation in favor of the thrifty course recommended by reason. We may, in fact, distinguish two types of men, the sensori motor moved by sense impressions and by sensory images, and the ideo motor

moved by ideas. For it is probable that the provident races do not accumulate simply from the liveliness of their anticipation of future wants or gratifications, but from the domination of certain ideas. The tenant who is saving to build a cottage of his own is not animated simply by a picture of coming satisfactions. All his teaching, all his contact with his fellows, conspire to make home the goal of his hopes, to fill his horizon with that one radiant idea. So in the renter who is scrimping in order to get himself a farm as in the immigrant who is laying by to go back and be somebody in the old country, the attraction of a thousand vaguely imagined pleasures is concentrated in one irresistible idea. The race that can make ideas the lodestars of life is certain to supplant a race of impulsivists absorbed in sensations, and recollections or anticipations of sensations.

It is certain that races differ in their attitude toward past and future. M. Lapie has drawn a contrast between the Arab and the Jew. The Arab remembers; he is mindful of past favors and past injuries. He harbors his vengeance and cherishes his gratitude. He accepts everything on the authority of tradition, loves the ways of his ancestors, forms strong local attachments, and migrates little. The Jew, on the other hand, turns his face toward the future. He is thrifty and always ready for a good stroke of business, will, indeed, join with his worst enemy if it pays. He is calculating, enterprising, migrant and ambitious.

An economic quality quite distinct from foresight is the value sense. By this I mean that facility of abstraction and calculation which enables a man to fix his interest on the value in goods rather than on the goods themselves. The mere husbandman is a utility perceiver. He knows the power of objects to keep human beings alive and happy, and has no difficulty in recognizing what is good and what is not. But the trader is a value perceiver. Not what a thing is good for, but what it will fetch, engages his attention. Generic utilities are relatively stable, for wine and oil and cloth are always and everywhere fit to meet human wants; but value is a chameleon like thing, varying greatly from time to time and place to place and person to person. The successful



trader dares form no fixed ideas with regard to his wares. He must pursue the elusive value that hovers now here and now there, and be ready at any moment to readjust his notions. He must be a calculator. He must train himself to recognize the abstract in the concrete and to distill the abstract out of the concrete. Economically, then, the trader is to the husbandman what the husbandman is to the hunter. The appearance of cities, money, and commerce puts a premium on the man who can perceive value. He accumulates property and founds a house, while his less skillful rival sinks and is devoured by war and by labor.

All through that ancient world which produced the Phœnician, the Jew, the Greek and the Roman, the acquisition of property made a difference in survival we can hardly understand to-day. Our per capita production is probably three or four times as great as theirs was, and hence the grain handlers of Buffalo are vastly more able to maintain a family than were the grain handlers of old Carthage or Alexandria. All around the Mediterranean trade prospered the value perceivers, and that type tended to multiply and tinge more and more the psychology and ideals of the classic world. In ancient society the difference in death rates and in family supporting power of the various industrial grades exceeded anything we are familiar with, and hence those who were steady and thrifty in labor or shrewd and prudent in trade vastly improved their chances of survival. Thus the economic man multiplied, and commercial, money making Byzantium rose on the ruins of the old races. "Long before the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople," says Mr. Freeman, "the name of Roman had ceased to imply even a presumption of descent from the old patricians and plebeians." "The Julius, the Claudius, the Cornelius of those days was for the most part no Roman by lineal descent, but a Greek, a Gaul, a Spaniard or an Illyrian."

Between the economic type and the military type there is abrupt contrast, and the social situation cannot well favor them both at the same time. The warrior shows passionate courage and the sway of impulse and imagination. The trader is calculating, counts the cost, and prizes a whole skin.

From the second century B.C. the substitution of this type for the old, heroic, Cincinnatus type went on so rapidly that a recent writer finds congenital cowardice to be the mark of the Roman senate and nobility during the empire. We all know the brilliant picture that Mr. Brooks Adams, in his *Law of Civilization and Decay*, has given of the replacement of the military by the economic type in western Europe since the Crusades.

If this hypothesis be sound, the value perceiving sense is to be looked for in old races that have long known cities, money and trade. The Jew came under these influences at least twelve centuries earlier than did our Teutonic ancestors and has therefore had about forty or fifty generations the start of us in becoming economic. Equal or even greater is the lead of the Chinaman. It is, then, no wonder that the Jews and the Chinese are the two most formidable mercantile races in the world to-day, just as, in the middle ages, the Greeks and the Italians were the most redoubtable traffickers and money makers in Europe. The Scotchman, the Fleming, and the Yankee, minor and later economic varieties developed in the west, can, indeed, exist alongside the Jew. The less mercantile German, however, fails to hold his own, and vents his wrath in anti-Semitism. The Slav, unsophisticated and rural, loses invariably in his dealings with the Jew, and so harshly drives him out in vast numbers.

May we not, then, conveniently recognize two stages in the development away from the barbarian? Hindoos, Japanese, North Africans and Europeans, in their capacity for steady labor, their foresight, and their power to save, constitute what I will call the domesticated races. But the Jews, the Chinese, the Parsees, the Armenians, and in general the peoples about the Mediterranean constitute the economic races. The expurgated and deleted Teuton of the west, on the other hand, is more recently from the woods, and remains something of the barbarian after all. We see it in his migratoriness, his spirit of adventure, his love of dangerous sports, his gambling propensities, his craving for strong drink, his living up to his standard of comfort whether he can afford it or not. In quest of excitement he betakes himself to the

far west or the Klondike, whereas the Jew betakes himself to the board of trade or the bourse. In direct competition with the more economic type the Anglo Saxon is handicapped by lack of patience and financial acumen, but still his virtues insure him a rich portion. His energy and self reliance locate him in cities and in the spacious, thriving parts of the earth where the economic reward is highest. Born pioneer, he prospects the wilderness, pre-empting the richest deposits of the precious metals and skimming the cream from the resources of nature. Strong in war and in government, he jealously guards his own from the economic races, and meets finesse with force; so that despite his less developed value sense, more and more the choice lands and the riches of the earth come into his possession and support his brilliant yet solid civilization.

It is through no inadvertence that I have not brought forward the martial traits as a cause of race superiority. I do not believe that the martial traits apart from economic prowess are likely in the future to procure success to any race. When men kill one another by arms of precision instead of by stabbing and hacking, the knell is sounded for purely warlike races like the Vandals, the Huns and the Turks. Invention has so completely transformed warfare that it has become virtually an extra hazardous branch of engineering. The factory system receives its latest and supreme application in the killing of men. Against an intelligent force equipped with the modern specialized appliances of slaughter no amount of mere warlike manhood can prevail. The fate of the Dervishes is typical of what must more and more often occur when men are pitted against properly operated lethal machinery.

Now, the war factory is as expensive as it is effective. None but the economic races, up to their eyes in capital and expert in managing machinery, can keep it running long. Warfare is becoming a costly form of competition in which the belligerents shed each other's treasure rather than each other's blood. A nation loses, not when it is denuded of men, but when it is at the end of its financial resources. War is, in fact, coming to be the supreme, economic touchstone, test-

ing systems of cultivation and transportation and banking, as well as personal courage and military organization.

At the same time that war is growing more expensive it is becoming less profitable. The fruits of victory are often mere apples of Sodom. A decent respect for the opinion of mankind debars a civilized people from massacring the conquered in order to plant its own colonists on their land, from enslaving them, from bleeding them with heavy and perpetual tribute. Fortunate, indeed, is the victor if he can extort enough to indemnify him for his outlay. Therefore, at the very moment that the cost of war increases, the declining profits of war stamp it as an industry of decreasing returns. Wealth is a means of procuring victory, but victory is no longer a means of procuring wealth. A nonmartial race may easily become victorious by means of its prosperity, but it will be harder and harder for a noneconomic race to become prosperous by means of its victories. Even now the Turks in Europe are declining in numbers, and in spite of Armenian massacres the industrial races of the empire are growing up through the top dressing of oppressors. It would seem safe to say that the purely warlike traits no longer insure race survival and expansion, and that in the competitions of the future the traits which enhance economic efficiency are likely to be most decisive.

In the dim past when cultures were sporadic, each developing apart in some island or river delta or valley closet, no race could progress unless it bore its crop of inventive genius. A high average of capacity was not so important as a few Gutenbergs and Faradays in each generation to make lasting additions to the national culture. If fruitful initiatives were forthcoming, imitation and education could be trusted to make them soon the common possession of all.

But when culture becomes cosmopolitan, as it is to-day, the success of a race turns much more on the efficiency of its average units than on the inventions and discoveries of its geniuses. The heaven sent man who invents the locomotive, or the dynamo, or the germ theory, confers thereby no exclusive advantage on his people or his race. So perfect is intellectual commerce, so complete is the organization of science,

that almost at once the whole civilized world knows and profits by his achievements. Nowadays the pioneering genius belongs to mankind, and however patriotic he may be he aids most the race that is most prompt and able to exploit his invention. Parasitism of this kind, therefore, tends to annul genius as a factor in race survival. During the century just closed the French intellect has stood supreme in its contributions to civilization; yet France has derived no exclusive advantage from her men of genius. It is differences in the qualities of the common men of the rival peoples that explains why France has not doubled its population in a century, while the English stock in the meantime has peopled some of the choicest parts of the world and more than quadrupled its numbers.

Henceforth this principle of cosmopolitanism must be reckoned with. Even if the Chinese have not yet vanquished the armies of the west with Mauser rifles supplied from Belgium, there is no reason why that mediocre and intellectually sterile race may not yet defeat us industrially by the aid of machines and processes conceived in the fertile brains of our Edisons and Marconis. Organizing talent, of course—industrial, administrative, military—each race must, in the long run, produce from its own loins; but in the industrial Armageddon to come it may be that the laurels will be won by a mediocre type of humanity, equipped with the science and the appliances of the more brilliant and brain fertile peoples. Not preponderance of genius will be decisive, but more and more the energy, self reliance, fecundity, and acquired skill of the average man; and the nation will do most for itself that knows how best to foster these winning qualities by means of education and wise social institutions.

How far does moral excellence profit a race? Those who hold that *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht* tell us that the weal or woe of nations depends upon morals. Indeed, every flourishing people lays its prosperity first to its religion and then to its moral code. Climatic adaptation or economic capacity is the last thing to be thought of as a cause of superiority.

The chief moral trait of a winning race is stability of character. Primitive peoples are usually over emotional and poised unstably between smiles and tears. They act quickly if at all, and according to the impulse of the moment. The Abyssinian, for example, is fickle, fleeting and perjured, the Kirghiz fickle and uncertain, the Bedouin loves and honors violent acts. The courage of the Mongol is a sudden blaze of pugnacity rather than a cool intrepidity. We recall Carlyle's comparing Gallic fire which is as the crackling of dry thorns under a pot, with the Teutonic fire which rises slowly but will smelt iron. In private endeavor perseverance, in the social economy the keeping of promises, and in the state steadfastness—these are the requisites of success, and they all depend on stability of character. Reliability in business engagements and settled reverence for law are indispensable in higher social development. The great economic characteristics of this age are the tendency to association, the growth of exchange, the increasing use of capital and the greater elaborateness of organization. They all imply the spreading of business over more persons, more space, and more time, and the increasing dependence of every enterprise upon what certain persons have been appointed to do or have engaged to do. Unreliable persons who fail to do their duty or keep their promises are quickly extruded from the economic organization. Industrial evolution, therefore, places a rising premium on reflection and self control, the foundations of character. More and more it penalizes the childishness or frivolousness of the cheaply gotten up manana races.

As regards the altruistic virtues, they are too common to confer a special advantage. Honesty, docility, faithfulness and other virtues that lessen social friction abound at every stage of culture and in almost every breed. The economic virtues are a function of race; but the moral virtues seem rather to be a function of association. They do not make society; society makes them. Just as the joint secretes the lubricating synovial fluid so every settled community, if undisturbed, secretes in time the standards, ideals and imperatives which are needed to lessen friction. Good order is, in fact, so little a monopoly of the higher races that the attain-

ment of it is more difficult among Americans at Dutch Flat or Skagway than it is among Eskimos or Indians. Sociability and sympathy are, indeed, serviceable in promoting cohesion among natural men; but they are of little account in the higher social architecture. The great races have been stern and grasping, with a strong property sense. More and more the purposive triumphs over the spontaneous association; so that the great historic social edifices are built on concurrence of aims, on custom or religion or law, never on mere brotherly feeling.

Indeed, the primary social sentiments are at variance with that sturdy self reliance which, as we have seen, enables a race to overrun the earth. It was observed even in the California gold diggings that the French miners stayed together, while the solitary American or Briton serenely roamed the wilderness with his outfit on a burro, and made the richest strikes. To-day a French railway builder in Tonkin says of the young French engineers in his employ: "They sicken, morally and physically, these fellows. They need papa and mamma! I had good results from bringing them together once or twice a week, keeping them laughing, making them amuse themselves and each other, in spite of lack of amusement. Then all would go well." It is perhaps this cruel homesickness which induces the French to restrict their numbers rather than expatriate themselves to over sea colonies. Latin sociability is the fountain of many of the graces that make life worth living, but it is certainly a handicap in just this critical epoch, when the apportionment of the earth among the races depends so much on a readiness to fight, trade, prospect or colonize thousands of miles from home.

The superiority of a race cannot be preserved without pride of blood and an uncompromising attitude toward the lower races. In Spanish America the easy going and unfastidious Spaniard peopled the continent with half breeds and met the natives half way in respect to religious and political institutions. In east Africa and Brazil the Portuguese showed toward the natives even less of that race aversion which is so characteristic of the Dutch and the English. In North America, on the other hand, the white men have rarely mingled

their blood with that of the Indian or toned down their civilization to meet his capacities. The Spaniard absorbed the Indians, the English exterminated them by fair means or foul. Whatever may be thought of the latter policy, the net result is that North America from the Behring sea to the Rio Grande is dedicated to the highest type of civilization; while for centuries the rest of our hemisphere will drag the ball and chain of hybridism.

Since the higher culture should be kept pure as well as the higher blood, that race is stronger which, down to the cultivator or the artisan, has a strong sense of its superiority. When peoples and races meet there is a silent struggle to determine which shall do the assimilating. The issue of this grapple turns not wholly on the relative excellence of their civilizations, but partly on the degree of faith each has in itself and its ideals. The Greeks assimilated to themselves all the peoples about the Mediterranean save the Jew, partly because the humblest wandering Greek despised the barbarians, and looked upon himself as a missionary to the heathen. The absorbent energy of the United States probably surpasses that of any mere colony because of the stimulus given us by an independent national existence. America is a psychic maelstrom that has sucked in and swallowed up hosts of aliens. Five millions of Germans, for instance, have joined us, and yet how little has our institutional development been deflected by them! I dare say the few thousand university trained Germans, and Americans educated in Heidelberg or Göttingen, have injected more German culture into our veins than all the immigrants that ever passed through Castle Garden. There is no doubt that the triumph of Americanism over these heterogeneous elements, far more decisive now than eighty years ago, has been hastened by the vast contempt that even the native farm hand or mechanic feels for the unassimilated immigrant. Had he been less sure of himself, had he felt less pride in American ideals and institutions, the tale might have been different.

One question remains. Is the superior race as we have portrayed it, able to survive all competitions and expand under all circumstances? There is, I am convinced, one respect in



which the very foresight and will power that mark the higher race dig a pit beneath its feet.

In the presence of the plenty produced by its triumphant energy the superior race forms what the economists call a standard of comfort, and refuses to multiply save upon this plane. With his native ambition stimulated by the opportunity to rise and his natural foresight reinforced by education, the American, for example, overrules his strongest instincts and refrains from marrying or from increasing his family until he can realize his subjective standard of comfort or decency. The power to form and cling to such a standard is not only one of the noblest triumphs of reason over passion, but is, in sooth, the only sure hope for the elevation of the mass of men from the abyss of want and struggle. The progress of invention held out such a hope but it has proven a mockery. Steam and machinery, it is true, ease for a little the strain of population on resources; but if the birth rate starts forward and the slack is soon taken up by the increase of mouths, the final result is simply more people living on the old plane. The rosy glow thrown upon the future by progress in the industrial arts proves but a false dawn unless the common people acquire new wants and raise the plane upon which they multiply.

Now, this rising standard which alone can pilot us toward the golden age, is a fatal weakness when a race comes to compete industrially with a capable race that multiplies on a lower plane. Suppose, for example, Asiatics flock to this country and, enjoying equal opportunities under our laws, learn our methods and compete actively with Americans. They may be able to produce and therefore earn in the ordinary occupations, say three fourths as much as Americans; but if their standard of life is only half as high, the Asiatic will marry before the American feels able to marry. The Asiatic will rear two children while his competitor feels able to rear but one. The Asiatic will increase his children to six under conditions that will not encourage the American to raise more than four. Both, perhaps, are forward looking and influenced by the worldly prospects of their children; but where the Oriental is satisfied with the outlook the American, who expects to school his children longer and place them better, shakes his head.

Now, to such a competition there are three possible results. First, the American, becoming discouraged, may relinquish his exacting standard of decency and begin to multiply as freely as the Asiatic. This, however, is likely to occur only among the more reckless and worthless elements of our population. Second, the Asiatic may catch up our wants as well as our arts, and acquire the higher standard and lower rate of increase of the American. This is just what contact and education are doing for the French Canadians in New England, for the immigrants in the west, and for the negro in some parts of the south; but the members of a great culture race like the Chinese show no disposition, even when scattered sparsely among us, to assimilate to us or to adopt our standards. Not until their self complacency has been undermined at home and an extensive intellectual ferment has taken place in China itself will the Chinese become assimilable elements. Thirdly, the standards may remain distinct, the rates of increase unequal, and the silent replacement of Americans by Asiatics go on unopposed until the latter monopolize all industrial occupations, and the Americans shrink to a superior caste able perhaps by virtue of its genius, its organization, and its vantage of position to retain for a while its hold on government, education, finance, and the direction of industry, but hopelessly beaten and displaced as a race. In other words, the American farm hand, mechanic and operative might wither away before the heavy influx of a prolific race from the Orient, just as in classic times the Latin husbandman vanished before the endless stream of slaves poured into Italy by her triumphant generals.

For a case like this I can find no words so apt as race suicide. There is no bloodshed, no violence, no assault of the race that waxes upon the race that wanes. The higher race quietly and uncomplainingly eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off from itself by collective action. The working classes gradually delay marriage and restrict the size of the family as the opportunities hitherto reserved for their children are eagerly snapped up by the numerous progeny of the foreigner. The prudent, self respecting natives first cease to expand, and then,

as the struggle for existence grows sterner and the outlook for their children darker, they fail even to recruit their own numbers. It is probably the visible narrowing of the circle of opportunity through the infiltration of Irish and French Canadians that has brought so low the native birth rate in New England.

However this may be, it is certain that if we venture to apply to the American people of to-day the series of tests of superiority I have set forth at such length, the result is most gratifying to our pride. It is true that our average of energy and character is lowered by the presence in the south of several millions of an inferior race. It is true that the last twenty years have diluted us with masses of fecund but beaten humanity from the hovels of far Lombardy and Galicia. It is true that our free land is gone and our opportunities will henceforth attract immigrants chiefly from the humbler strata of east European peoples. Yet, while there are here problems that only high statesmanship can solve, I believe there is at the present moment no people in the world that is, man for man, equal to the Americans in capacity and efficiency. We stand now at the moment when the gradual westward migration has done its work. The tonic selections of the frontier have brought us as far as they can bring us. The testing individualizing struggle with the wilderness has developed in us what it would of body, brain and character.

Moreover, free institutions and universal education have keyed to the highest tension the ambitions of the American. He has been chiefly farmer and is only beginning to expose himself to the deteriorating influences of city and factory. He is now probably at the climax of his energy and everything promises that in the centuries to come he is destined to play a brilliant and leading rôle on the stage of history.

## EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES OF THE COMMUNITY.

BY SAMUEL T. DUTTON.

[Samuel Train Dutton, professor of the school of administration and superintendent of the Teachers' college connected with Columbia university; born Oct. 16, 1849; was graduated from Yale in 1873, and the same year was put in charge of the schools of South Norwalk, Connecticut; in 1878 he became principal of the Eaton school of New Haven, Conn.; in 1882 he was made superintendent of schools of New Haven; in 1895-97 was lecturer in pedagogy at Harvard, 1897-98, at the University of Chicago and Vassar college, and in 1898, at Boston university; he is the author of the Morse Speller, Social Phases of Education, and is the editor of the Historical Series, published by Morse Co., and other writings.]

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The word education stands for much more than it did half a century ago. Then the term, in its common acceptance, was made to include schools and teaching and little else. It has generally come to be understood that education is the name of a process which begins at birth and continues to the end of this life, and probably far beyond. It is seen that this process is carried on through many channels and is subject to a great variety of influences. Man is educated by means of all the institutions and forces that operate upon him and which affect his life and character. In other words, education, both as regards man and society, is the means whereby civilization is attained. That we are painfully conscious of the defects of our civilization only leads us to give larger significance to education in order that these defects may be overcome. Mr. Edward Carpenter, in his book, *The Cause and Cure of Civilization*, takes an exceedingly pessimistic view. He treats it as a disease, and declares that human society in its movement forward has never yet been able to pass successfully this crisis. Nation after nation has arisen and achieved wonderful heights in learning, in art, and in statecraft, but has finally succumbed to the enervating influences of a highly civilized life. Those peoples which to-day are proudest of the past and have the greatest faith in their destiny are, probably, less blind than the nations of ancient and mediæval times to the dangers which lie in their pathway. They have faith to believe that with universal education, made free to

all, the forces that make for progress may prove superior to those of degeneration and decay, so that the catastrophes which have darkened the pages of history may in the future be averted, and that peace and enlightenment may finally reign supreme.

One fact is patent to us all, that educational activity is a dominant force in modern life. In this country and in Europe there is a growing sense that national strength and greatness must rest upon the intelligence and character of all the people.

It is timely, therefore, to inquire what are our educational resources and how can we economize them to the best advantage, so that the whole American people may become sensitive to their opportunities and earnest in their pursuit of a higher life; in short, how may they become truly educated?

From one cause and another we have become a nation of large towns and cities. It is customary to ascribe this social change from rural to urban conditions, which has been going on so rapidly, entirely to the influence of industry. This, no doubt, is a potent factor, but people are naturally gregarious. They have always been so. The valleys of the Tigris, of the Euphrates, and of the Nile contained vast cities when industrial conditions were distinctly different from what they are to-day. The same thing is noticeable among the early Oriental nations as well as in later times. Any effort, therefore, to inventory the educational resources of a modern community leads us directly to the cities in which the larger number of our people dwell.

These resources may, for convenience, be grouped in three general classes: First, homes, churches, schools, and libraries; second, newspapers, magazines, museums, the drama, industry, and government; third, those intellectual and ethical aptitudes of the people which make it possible for them to be quickened and influenced in the right direction. The impulses, ambitions, and emotions common to us all constitute the most powerful element in our capacity to be improved. These, then, are some of the most important educational resources.



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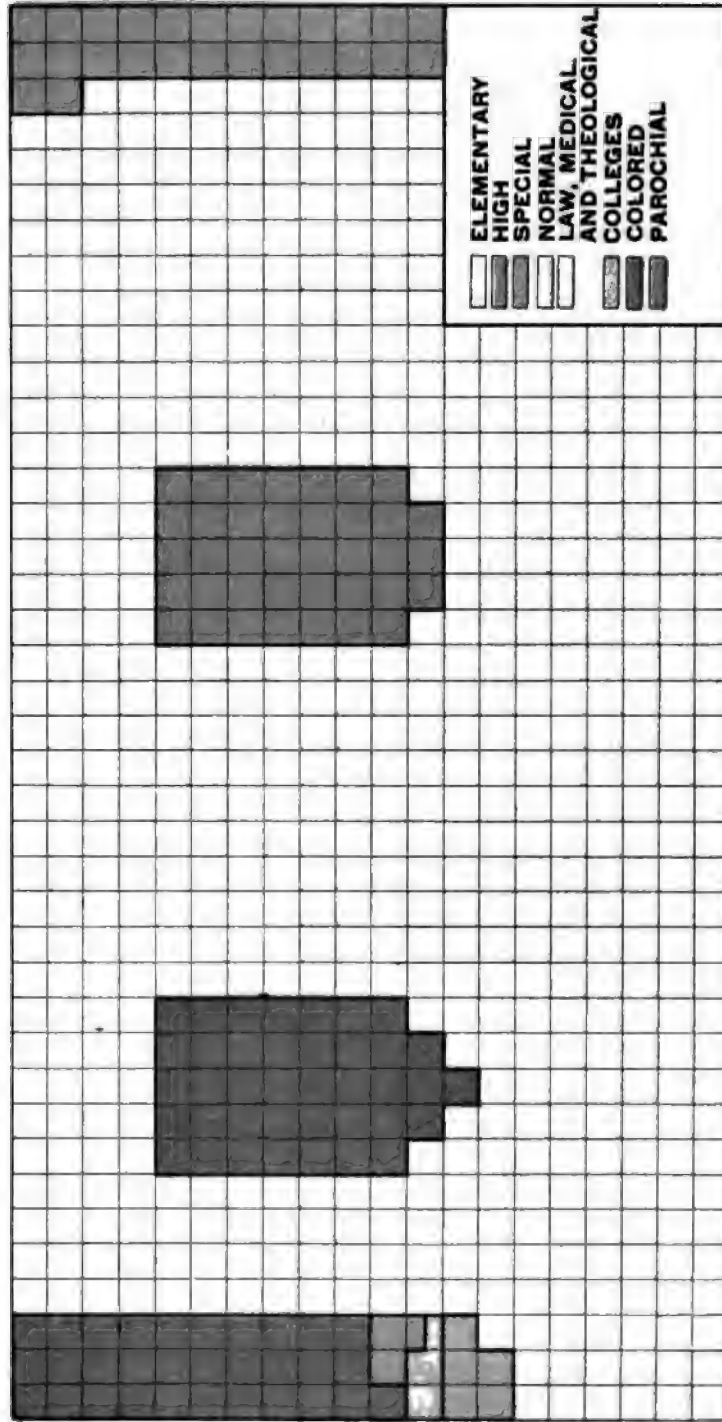
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# EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

POPULATION 78,544,816

TOTAL ENROLLMENT, 18,187,918---21.96%

EACH SQUARE REPRESENTS 25,000 PUPILS







Looking at the first group, we see four institutions which, in their educative powers, are greatest. The home, which is at once the most ancient and the most divine of all, and which in its condition is the most important and influential, is not all that it should be in our American life. While the other institutions of this class are simply means to an end, the home is an end in itself, and the church, the school, and the library perform their highest function when they minister to it. Here it is that little children, while they are most plastic and impressible, receive those early lessons that determine to a large extent the quality of the after life. Nothing is so much needed in America to-day as good homes where parents are temperate, just, and kind; where every domestic virtue is active, and where peace, harmony, and mutual affection dominate.

There is no more constructive force in modern life than the church, standing, as it does, for man's responsibility to the Almighty, and for the consecration of self to the good of mankind; but I venture to affirm that the churches fall far short of their privilege in not affiliating themselves more closely with the interests of the home, the school, and other social forces.

All methods of elevating the human mind and the human heart to a higher level are one in their purpose and general nature. The greater part of the work of the modern church is educative work. Its weekly program presents a series of classes and exercises which are not unlike much that is found in the school; in fact, the purpose is to enlist many people, not only in believing the truth, but in taking part in good works.

The school, also, in its best development, seeks to promote the subjection of self to the interests of the community, to create an atmosphere that is favorable to self denying and faithful service. Thus, it appears that the functions of the church and of the school have become more nearly alike, so that it might almost be said that the ideal church and the ideal school are in perfect agreement, and are seeking the same end by very much the same methods. This suggests the thought that in the more mature development of these

forces the terms education and salvation will come to mean much the same thing, and certainly, under present methods of interpretation, it is difficult to find a great difference between them.

And here I must protest against classing the school and the library as secular institutions. It may be a convenient use of the term in some relations to class the school as secular, but intrinsically it is no more secular than the church. In any Christian country where sincere and consecrated teachers are endeavoring to bring out in the lives of the young the best that God has implanted, both the effort and the result are fit to be classed with those of the most devoted of the saints of earth. In a vast number of cases the teacher is essentially a missionary, and while he may not go in priestly garb, and is not perhaps permitted to use the bible, he never for a moment forgets the responsibility he is under as a Christian man or a Christian woman in guiding and shaping human souls. When we remember the vast multitudes of children in this country who flock daily from the slums to the schools, and think what it means to the nation to have these children trained into Christian citizenship, we realize that the word sacred and not secular is most fit to be applied.

The place which the library holds, and is destined to hold, in our American life has yet hardly been appreciated. As the process of education comes to be more generally applied, and the conditions affecting the millions who toil for existence are made more favorable by better wages and shorter hours, it is seen how necessary it is that this people's university should be established in every large community, with doors standing invitingly open, so that in this treasure house of the accumulated wisdom and experience of past ages men and women may continue their education, and in the companionship of good books find solace and inspiration.

Leaving this group of educational forces, let us glance for a moment at the second. The newspaper is already an influential factor in the instruction of the people, and as society grows better its standards will be higher. There is much in our best magazines that is indicative of improved literary and artistic taste, as well as breadth of thought and feeling.

Our museums of art and history are growing, and will become more and more a means of enlightenment. The drama is undoubtedly on too commercial a plane. I am not sure that the state might not profitably subsidize certain places of amusement for the sake of bringing before the people the highest possible order of dramatic representation. Nothing is better than the best in dramatic art, and nothing is worse than the poorest.

Industry has ever exerted an influence in the control of education, and such is the case to-day, not only because our industrial system presents a vast object lesson, but because it makes certain practical demands which have to be met in the schools. There is nothing more impressive in its power and influence than government. In a country where a free people express their convictions and wishes through laws and customs, there is a constant exercise of civic intelligence and activity which is both educative and elevating. What does government not do for us to-day in the way of protection, of beneficent aid and kind restraint! However much there may be in our municipal affairs that is insincere and unpatriotic, we know that we enjoy good government, and that wherever public provision fails private effort is ready to step in and supply what is needed.

There are doubtless other educational forces which I have not mentioned, but in naming these we have an array that is quite surprising. In these various institutions and forces lies the hope of the future.

If all these forces could be made to work in harmony their power would be invincible, but the trouble is that they do not pull together. There is a force of individuality and a persistence of type that often seems to defy any attempt at unity of action. Even with these three classes I have not named all the resources of a community which make for education. There are the stories and traditions of the past touching the good and brave deeds that citizens have performed both in peace and in war; there are monuments and buildings that recall stirring events and that appeal to patriotic pride; still more important are the philanthropic activities of the present time, wherein men are showing forth their

belief in the brotherhood of man and are giving practical expression to this sentiment. Prejudice, the spirit of caste, narrowness of view, and false data are all hindrances to completeness of community life and the accomplishment of fruitful work. People have too little faith in each other and are either suspicious or indifferent. The treatment which frogs in the pond receive at the hands of thoughtless boys is the method by which anyone who lifts his head above the common level is induced to subside. Thus, the highest social interests suffer. There is too little mutual sympathy or public spirit. Attempts at constructive reform are both sporadic and individualistic. There is no lack of activity, but it is not of the sort that tells for permanent good. Institutions and forces grow and render indifferent service, but the lack of concerted action prevents unity, and the result is imperfect.

With this general view of educational means at our command, and the obstacles with which we have to contend, I find good ground for encouragement, first, because there are some in nearly every community capable of leadership, and second, because there are many others who are capable of being led; in fact, because nearly all people may be classed under one or the other of these heads.

Allusion has already been made to the fact that people are possessed of instincts and aptitudes which render them susceptible to influence. Take the parental instinct, for example. What will father or mother not do for their children! The innate love of offspring affords a powerful leverage by which certain lines of educational reform may be urged forward. To many the claims of patriotism and philanthropy are strong enough to induce them to combine with others for constructive work. If, therefore, in a given community proper leaders, inspired by high aims and ideals, are set at work, great and good results may be accomplished. Whenever one reputable citizen, endowed with wisdom and far-sightedness, and possessing faith in his fellow men, sees the particular educational need, and goes courageously to work to meet that need, he is sure to have followers. He soon becomes the center of a group of people who are ready to do

self sacrificing work. The problems of education are not generally best attacked through the medium of smoke talks and elaborate dinners, although one might think so from the prevalence of these methods. There must be candid, serious study of the whole situation in any community before the organization can become influential or effective.

Speaking more specifically, what are the chief ends to be attained in our large communities which call for voluntary, organized effort?

First, these institutions which I have enumerated must be federated and brought into close co-operation. That narrow view which regards the church as responsible for one thing, the home for another, and the school for still another, must be dispelled, and it must be understood that they are all working, or should be, for one and the same thing. Working, to be sure, in different ways and with different means, but with the single purpose of cultivating the ideal life in every human being. I have not space to give a detailed statement of how these forces can help each other. This part of the problem is not difficult when once people recognize that the present segregation of social and educational interests is wasteful and unfruitful. Hitherto, if there has been anything wrong, if too many crimes are committed, or young men and women do not readily find employment, the fault is laid at the door of the school, when the real trouble may be with any one of a half dozen other influences, or it may be because of the lack of co-operation to which I have referred.

Second, coincident with this effort to bring about co-ordination and unification in the community life through its great social institutions, there should be an earnest effort to improve the social mind, to elevate the taste and appreciation respecting books, the drama, art, music, and such other things as afford nutrition to the higher nature. When the great issues of human elevation are held before the public mind, there never fails to be a response in the form of a truer and more stable public sentiment. These ends cannot be accomplished in times of storm and stress, but are the result of quiet, steady growth when the community is not rent by partisan strife.

The programme here outlined would not in its results be revolutionary save as affects the attitudes of the people concerning educational reform. There would be a broader perspective and a larger sense of the unity of all effort for broad and liberal education. Moreover, there would be, naturally, the greatest variety in the kinds of work undertaken. Let me prove this by referring to one conference of societies doing educational work. These organizations, about twenty five in number, many of them known as education societies, came together for a third annual conference. Brief reports were made by their delegates showing what had been done during the past year. It appeared that while the primary purpose of most of these societies had been to improve the public schools of the community, the field in which they had worked had been much broader than the schools. Nearly all had tried to educate the community to the larger aims of education through lectures and discussion. Much attention had been given to inculcating good citizenship. Vacation school for backward children had been treated. Parents' leagues had been formed and mothers' meetings were reported. Attention had been given to the subject of self government in the schools as well as to affiliated organizations conducted by young people. School playgrounds and school decoration had received attention. Boys' clubs and the claims of the domestic arts in the school were reported.

The work undertaken by a single society will give a better idea of the scope of this work. The child study committee has regularly held mothers' meetings and has sustained a boys' club in a section of the town where it is most needed. The lecture committee co-operated with others in conducting excellent courses of lectures. The art committee has been the means of securing for the schools a considerable number of gifts—prints, drawings, and photographs. The music committee has provided organ recitals, summer open air concerts, half hours of music in the schools, and for one year sustained a people's singing class. The science committee gathered valuable household statistics relating to the ordinary expense of home keeping, and, with funds provided by a lecture on liquid air, secured reference books and valuable

photographs. The committee on physical training investigated and reported on rules for good health, gathered interesting statistics concerning recess and swimming, and conducted a physical examination of a large number of children. The hygienic conditions of the schoolrooms of the town had also been investigated. The school library committee succeeded in inducing the town to establish a school reference room in the public library at an expense of five thousand dollars. The portfolio committee made collections of books, photographs, and prints, which have been properly grouped in portfolios and prepared for use as illustrative material in the schools.

One distinctive feature of this society is that its membership has included people from all the churches of the town, and the clergymen have been among the most active members. After years of discussion and effort, such as has been indicated, it may safely be affirmed that there is a much heartier spirit of co-operation on the part of the various forces of the town than could otherwise have been possible.

This, then, is a movement, now fairly under way in this country, which promises much for the cause of education.



# FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN EDUCATION.

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

[Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia university; born April 2, 1862, at Elizabeth, New Jersey; was graduated from Columbia university in 1882 and studied in Berlin and Paris in 1884-5; in 1885 he became assistant in the department of philosophy at Columbia; in 1886, tutor; in 1889, adjunct professor in the same department; in 1890, dean of the faculty of philosophy and professor of philosophy; he was the founder and for five years the president of the Teachers' college of New York; 1887-95, was a member of the New Jersey State Board of Education and in 1889, special commissioner from New Jersey to the Paris exposition; in 1895 he was made president and life director of the National Educational association; in 1902, president of Columbia, and in 1904, chairman of the administrative board of the International Congress of Arts and Science at the Louisiana Purchase exposition; he is editor of the Educational Review, the Great Educators Series, Teachers' Professional Library, Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy and Education and co-editor of the Internationale Pädagogische Bibliothek. He is the author of *The Meaning of Education* and other books.]

I shall endeavor to place before you, though with necessary brevity, some principles which appear to me to be fundamental in our American educational system and policy. I am the more ready to do this because, during the last two or three years, in important debates, I have observed that some of these considerations have been overlooked or their existence flatly denied.

First and foremost, I name this proposition and hold it to be fundamental to our American educational system:

While all forms of education may be under government control, yet government control of education is not exclusive, and the national system of education in the United States includes schools and institutions carried on without direct governmental oversight and support, as well as those that are maintained by public tax and administered by governmental agencies.

Some very important consequences follow the acceptance of this principle. A nation's life is much more than an inventory of its governmental activities. For example, the sum total of the educational activity of the United States is not to be ascertained by making an inventory of what the

government—national, state, and local—is doing, but only by taking account of all that the people of the United States are doing, partly through governmental forms and processes and partly in non governmental ways and by non governmental systems. In other words, the so-called public education of the United States, that which is tax supported and under the direct control of a governmental agency, is not the entire national educational system. To get at what the people of the United States are doing for education and to measure the full length and breadth of the nation's educational system, we must add to public or tax supported education, all activities of similar kind that are carried on by private corporations, by voluntary associations, and by individuals. The nation is represented partly by each of these undertakings, wholly by no one of them. The terms national and governmental are happily not convertible in the United States, whether it be of universities, of morals, or of efficiency that we are speaking.

This point is of far reaching importance, for it has become one of the political assumptions of our time that any undertaking to be representative of the nation must be one which is under governmental control. Should this view ever command the deliberate assent of a majority of the American people, our institutions would undergo radical change and our liberties and right of initiative would be only such as the government of the moment might vouchsafe to us. But we are still clear sighted enough to realize that our national ideals and our national spirit find expression in and through the churches, the newspaper press, the benefactions to letters, science, and art, the spontaneous uprisings in behalf of stricken humanity and oppressed peoples, and a hundred other similar forms, quite as truly as they find expression in and through legislative acts and appropriations, judicial opinions, and administrative orders. The latter are governmental in form and in effect; the former are not. Both are national in the sense that both represent characteristics of the national life and character.

The confusion between a nation's life and a nation's government is common enough, but so pernicious that I may be permitted a few words concerning it.

When Hegel asserted that morality is the ultimate end for which the state—that is, politically organized mankind—exists, he stated one of the profoundest moral and political truths. But it is pointed out to us by political science that before any such ultimate end can be gained, the proximate end of the development of national states must be aimed at. The state operates to develop the principle of nationality which exists among persons knit together by common origin, common speech, and common habitat, through creating and perfecting two things—government and liberty. The first step out of barbarism is the establishment of a government strong enough to preserve peace and order at home and to resist successfully attack from without. This accomplished, the state must turn to the setting up of a system of individual liberty. It does this by marking out the limits within which individual initiative and autonomy are permitted, and by directing the government to refrain from crossing these limits itself and to prevent anyone else from crossing them. After government and liberty have both been established, then all subsequent history is the story of a continually changing line of demarcation between them, according as circumstances suggest or dictate. In the United States, for example, the postoffice is in the domain of government; the express business and the sending of telegrams are in the domain of liberty. In different countries, and in the same country at different times, the line between the sphere of government and the sphere of liberty is differently drawn. In Germany the conduct of railways is largely an affair of government; in the United States it is largely an affair of liberty. Schools, for example, are to-day much more an affair of government than ever before, but they are still an affair which falls in the domain of liberty as well. In short, government plus liberty, each being the same for a field of activity, gives the complete life of the state; government alone does so just as little as the sphere of liberty alone would do so. These principles are all set forth with great lucidity and skill by my colleague, Professor Burgess, in his work entitled *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*. In discussing this distinction he writes:

"It is often said that the state does nothing for certain causes, as, for instance, religion or the higher education, when the government does not exercise its powers in their behalf. This does not at all follow. If the state guarantees the liberty of conscience and of thought and expression, and permits the association of individuals for the purposes of religion and education, and protects such associations in the exercise of their rights, it does a vast deal for religion and education; vastly more, under certain social conditions, than if it should authorize the government to interfere in these domains. The confusion of thought upon this subject arises from the erroneous assumptions that the state does nothing except what it does through the government; that the state is not the creator of liberty; that liberty is natural right, and that the state only imposes a certain necessary restraint upon the same. . . . There never was, and there never can be, any liberty on this earth and among human beings outside of state organization. . . . Mankind does not begin with liberty. Mankind acquires liberty through civilization. Liberty is as truly a creation of the state as is government."

A written constitution, it may be added, is a formal act of creation of a government and a careful delimitation of its powers. It also defines the sphere of individual liberty, directly or indirectly, and so the individual is protected by the state against the government. Through the government he is also protected against encroachment from elsewhere. In the constitution of the United States, for example, the individual is guaranteed by the state the rights peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances, and the government must both refrain from invading those rights and prevent others from invading them. If the government should fail to do this, the state which created the government would surely remodel or destroy it.

I shall not apologize for this excursion into the domain of political science, inasmuch as I hold the distinction between state and government to be of crucial importance for right thinking upon the larger problems of our educational polity. When once the distinction between state and government is grasped, and also the farther distinction between the sphere of

government and the sphere of liberty, then it is seen to be a matter of expediency, to be determined by a study of the facts and by argument, whether a given matter—such as support of schools or the control of railways and telegraphs—should be assigned to the sphere of government or to the sphere of liberty.

In the United States there are three different types of educational institution, all resting upon the power of the state. One of the three depends wholly and one partly upon the government. The third type is without any governmental relationship whatever. The three types are these:

1. Those institutions which the government establishes and maintains, such as the public schools, the public libraries, and the state universities.

2. Those institutions which the government authorizes, such as school, college, and university corporations, private or semi-public in character, which gain their powers and privileges by a charter granted by the proper governmental authority, and which are often given aid by the government in the form of partial or entire exemption from taxation.

3. Those institutions which the state permits, because it has conferred on the government no power to forbid or to restrict them, such as private venture (unincorporated) educational undertakings of various kinds.

Our American educational system is made up of all these, and whether a given school, college, or university is national or not does not in the least depend upon the fact that it is or is not governmental. France and Germany have great national universities which are governmental; England and the United States have great national universities which are non governmental. Oxford and Cambridge are no less truly English, and Harvard and Columbia are no less truly American, because their funds are not derived from public tax and because the appointments to their professorships are not made or confirmed by government officers. Whether a given institution is truly national or not depends, in the United States, upon whether it is democratic in spirit, catholic in temper, and without political, theological, or local limitations and trammels. It may be religious in tone and in purpose

and yet be national, provided only that its doors be not closed to any qualified student because of his creed.

It is worth noting that while in the United States the government bears nearly the entire brunt of elementary education, it finds a powerful ally in non governmental institutions in the field of secondary and higher education. The statistics gathered by the commissioner of education show that for the year ending June 30, 1900, of all elementary school pupils 92.27 per cent were enrolled in governmental institutions, while for secondary and higher education the percentages were 73.75 and 38.17 respectively. In other words, non governmental institutions—those which are loosely described as private schools and colleges—are instructing about one thirteenth of the pupils of elementary grade, about one quarter of the pupils of secondary grade, and about two thirds of the pupils of higher grade. Almost exactly one tenth of the whole number of pupils of all grades were enrolled in non governmental, so-called private, institutions. It is just this word private which increases the confusion against which my argument is directed. It is my contention that none of these institutions is properly described as private; they are all public, but not all governmental. If this point is clear, then we shall have escaped the fallacies and dangers that follow from confusing tax supported, governmental undertakings with public tendencies and movements. In education and in our political life generally, the public tendencies and movements are a genus of which governmental activities are a species.

As a second fundamental principle of our American educational system, I name this:

The duly constituted authorities of any school district or other political unit may establish and maintain schools of any kind or grade for which the voters consent in regular form to bear the expense.

There is a widespread belief that elementary education under government control is a matter of right, but that secondary and higher education under government control are improper invasions of the domain of liberty. There is no ground in our public policy for this belief. The government has the

same right to do for secondary and for higher education that it has to do for elementary education. What and how much it shall do, if anything, in a particular case, is a question of expediency; the right to do as much as it chooses is unquestionable.

Upon this point there is an important decision, made by unanimous vote of the Supreme court of Michigan in 1874, which may fairly be taken to represent our established policy. The opinion was written by Justice Thomas M. Cooley, one of the most learned and authoritative of American constitutional lawyers. The decision was rendered in a suit known as the Kalamazoo case, to restrain the collection of such portion of the school taxes assessed against the complainants for the year 1872 as was voted for the support of the high school and for the payment of the salary of the superintendent of schools in school district No. 1 of Kalamazoo. The position of the complainants, as stated by the court, was as follows:

"While there may be no constitutional provision expressly prohibiting such taxation, the general course of legislation in the state and the general understanding of the people have been such as to require instruction in the classics and in living modern languages in the public schools to be regarded as in the nature, not of practical and therefore necessary instruction for the benefit of the people at large, but rather as accomplishments for the few, to be sought after in the main by those best able to pay for them, and to be paid for by those who seek them, and not by general tax. And further, that the higher learning, when supplied by the state, is so far a matter of private concern to those who receive it that the courts ought to declare the state incompetent to supply it wholly at the public expense."

In answer to this contention the court expresses surprise that the legislation and policy of the state were appealed to against the right of the state to furnish a liberal education to the youth of the state in schools brought within the reach of all classes.

We supposed, adds the court, it had always been understood in this state that education, not merely in the rudiments, but in an enlarged sense, was regarded as an important prac-

tical advantage to be supplied at their option to rich and poor alike, and not as something pertaining merely to culture and accomplishment, to be brought as such within the reach of those whose accumulated wealth enabled them to pay for it.

The court then passes in review, in most instructive fashion, the development of the educational policy of the state from the beginning, and concludes as follows:

We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, nor in our laws, do we find the primary school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose.

In consonance with this opinion is one delivered by the Supreme court of Missouri in 1883, in which it is held that the term common, when applied to schools, is used to denote the fact that they are open and public to all rather than to indicate the grade of the school, or what may or may not be taught therein. The court also holds that the term school of itself does not imply a restriction to the rudiments of an education.

It is interesting to contrast these decisions in Michigan and in Missouri with the conclusion reached by the court of Queen's bench in England in 1901 in the famous case of the Queen versus Cockerton, in which it is expressly held that it is not within the power of a school board to expend money raised by local taxes upon any education other than elementary. The terms of the education act of 1870 and of the many acts supplementary thereto no doubt justified the court's decision, but the fact that such a conclusion is bad public policy has been brought to the attention of a large number of thoughtful persons, and has had no small part in the present educational debate which is much the most important matter before parliament and the English people.

A third fundamental principle of our American education is this:

The schools which are maintained by governmental authority are established in the interest of the whole people, and because of the controlling conviction that an instructed and enlightened population is essential to the perpetuity of demo-



cratic institutions and to their effective operation. The schools are therefore a proper charge upon all taxpaying persons and property, and not merely upon those whose children receive instruction therein. Nor are they in any sense schools which are provided for the poor or the unfortunate.

When stated, this principle seems axiomatic. Nevertheless, it is openly or impliedly denied with surprising frequency. It is safe to say that in all of our large cities there is a class of persons, by no means inconsiderable in number, who look upon the tax supported schools as they look upon almshouses and asylums. Such persons regard the schools as a part of the community's charitable or philanthropic equipment. In my view, on the other hand, the schools are a part of the community's life. They are not merely to give relief or shelter to individuals, they are to minister to the democratic ideal. The very children who sit on the benches are regarded not merely as children, interesting, lovable, precious, but as future citizens of a democracy with all the privileges and responsibilities which that implies. Over seventy years ago Daniel Webster stated this principle in language which cannot be improved:

"For the purpose of public instruction," said Webster, in his oration at Plymouth on Forefathers' day in 1820, "we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question whether he himself have or have not children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent in some measure the extension of the penal code by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge in an early age. We strive to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere; to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of an enlightened and well principled moral senti-

ment. . . And knowing that our government rests directly upon the public will, in order that we may preserve it we endeavor to give a safe and proper direction to that public will. We do not, indeed, expect all men to be philosophers or statesmen; but we confidently trust, and our expectation of the duration of our system of government rests upon that trust, that, by the diffusion of general knowledge, and good and virtuous sentiments, the political fabric may be secure as well against open violence and overthrow as against the slow, but sure, undermining of licentiousness."

Here we have in the words of our greatest expounder of the underlying principles of American polity a statement of the philosophical basis upon which our tax supported school system rests. We may wish that these schools did many things differently; we may not have children to send to their classrooms; nevertheless, they are our schools because we are American citizens, and we owe them our loyal service as well as our ungrudging support. Anyone who wishes, for personal, social, or religious reasons, to have his child receive a training other than that which the tax supported schools give, is at liberty to make such provision for his child as he chooses; but he is not thereby released from the obligation resting upon him as a citizen to contribute to the support of the tax supported schools. It follows, too, that the parents of those who are pupils in the tax supported schools have no peculiar rights in connection with the policy of those schools that are not shared by all other citizens. The schools are for the people as a whole, not for those of a district or ward, or of a political party or religious communion, or for those who are either poor or rich. We poison our democracy at its source if we permit any qualification of this fundamental principle.

It is sometimes gravely argued that positions as school officers or teachers should be given only to those who live, at the moment, in the civil community or subdivision in which the school in question is situated. This is the theory that the schools exist not for the people or for the children, but in order that places may be provided for the friends, relatives, and neighbors of those who are charged for the time being with the power of appointment. It is an undemocratic theory,

because it substitutes a privileged class for open competition among the best qualified. Pushed to its logical extreme, it would look first in the ranks of the descendants of the aborigines for persons to appoint to posts in the educational system. Very few Americans live where their grandparents lived, and it is usually those who have come most recently to a city, town, or village who are loudest in insisting that no outsider, as the saying is, be given a place as teacher or superintendent. The democratic theory, on the contrary, asks only for the best, and if the community cannot provide the best it holds that such community should enrich itself by bringing in the best from wherever it is to be had. As teaching becomes a profession, the teacher and school officer will acquire a professional reputation and status which will make short work of town, county, and even state boundaries.

These three principles have been chosen for presentation and emphasis at this time because, although each of them is often denied, I believe them to underlie our whole educational system, and to condition all clear thinking and right action concerning it. They are, briefly, that

1. American education is far wider than the system of tax supported schools and universities, numerous and excellent as those schools and universities are. All schools, colleges, and universities, tax supported or not, are public in the important sense that they all reflect and represent some part or phase of our national life and character.

2. There is no restriction upon the amount, kind, or variety of education which a district, town, or city may furnish, save that which is found in the willingness or unwillingness of citizens to vote the necessary taxes.

3. The tax supported schools are public schools in the fullest possible sense, and are not maintained for the benefit of persons of any special class or condition, or from any motive which may properly be described as charitable or philanthropic.

The constant application of these principles in educational debates and discussions would bring definiteness and clearness into many places that are now dark and uncertain, and would greatly promote the interest which we all have at heart—the conservation and up building of our American democracy.

## AMERICAN REFORMS IN EDUCATION.

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT.

[Charles William Eliot, president of Harvard university; born March 20, 1834, in Boston; was graduated from Harvard in 1853; in 1854 he became tutor of mathematics in Harvard, and 1858-63 was assistant professor of mathematics and chemistry at Harvard; 1863-65, he pursued his studies abroad, and in 1865-69 was professor of analytical chemistry in the Massachusetts institute of technology; since 1869, he has been president of Harvard university; he is the author of a Manual of Qualitative Chemical Analysis co-operatively, Five American Contributions to Civilization, and other essays; Educational Reform, Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect, Annual Reports of the President of Harvard University, and many notable addresses on scientific and educational questions which he has delivered in public of which this is one.]

The first great movement of reform was the introduction of freedom in choice of studies—first in universities, or colleges, and later in schools. Like most other large educational movements, this change proceeded from new conditions entirely outside of the proper realm of education. It proceeded from the wonderful development of new knowledges which took place during the first half of the last century, accompanied by the discovery of new principles and methods of scientific investigation. These new knowledges and new methods of inquiry commanded public attention, and created an imperative demand that youth should be instructed in them. The managers of education positively have had no option with regard to the introduction of some sort of elective system. They have been compelled to introduce it. A limited elective system was first introduced into Harvard college in 1826 during the administration of President Josiah Quincy, a layman who came late to an educational post, having previously been a member of congress and mayor of Boston. His two successors in the presidency did not agree with him as to the importance of an election of studies; so they tried to extinguish the system in Harvard college. The second of these two presidents put on record in his own reports his failure completely to extinguish the system, and gave the true reason for the failure—namely, the incoming of such a number of new sciences and of new philosophical and practical intel-

lectual interests that it was impossible to restrict the program of studies in the college to the old seven or eight so-called liberal arts. Thus then the great change wrought in the second half of the 19th century in public education was forced on college administrations from without. They had no choice; they must give to the student freedom in choice of study; and they must so specialize the teaching that the professor should have freedom to develop throughout all his career the teaching of a single topic.

Let me attempt to give you an idea of what has been going on since 1870 in this one institution in regard to the teaching of a single subject—political economy. There died in Cambridge not long ago Professor Charles Franklin Dunbar, who, having previously been a man of business and the editor of an influential paper in Boston, was made in 1871 professor of political economy—an immensely important subject, which at that time had no teacher exclusively devoted to it in Harvard university. It merely received a scanty portion of the attention of a professor of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity. In his first year of service Professor Dunbar gave instruction in one course prescribed for juniors, and in that same year he offered one elective course to seniors. Such was the modest beginning of the university's department of political economy. When he died there were in Harvard university three full professors of political economy, one assistant professor, and six instructors. There was no prescribed course, but a large number of optional courses; and any youth who wanted to study political economy with thoroughness could begin that study as a freshman, and continue it for four years, that is, through his whole college course; and then he might devote two or three years' time to it in the graduate school. One thoughtful, resolute, clear headed, just man developed this important department of instruction in one American college, in a little less than thirty years, through freedom for student and teacher alike.

Many persons have a very inadequate conception of the meaning of election of studies. They think of it chiefly as a questionable liberty for a thoughtless student. It is really the sole means of developing thorough far reaching university

instruction in any subject, or in all subjects, and, therefore, is an indispensable means of promoting and stimulating American scholarship. It is as essential to the production of great teachers and great authors as it is to the training of well equipped students.

I pass on to the next fundamental change in American education—a change which is pure, far reaching gain, and which has been wrought out better in America than in any other country. I refer to the change in school discipline. Again, this is a change brought about, not exclusively by professional teachers, but by social forces working through all the community, but especially developed in schools and colleges. Nowadays we realize that the fundamental object in all education is to develop self control and the power to give an intense mental attention; and we realize that self control is not to be cultivated in children under the arbitrary pressure of another's will. As a boy I went to what was considered the best public school in Boston—one famous throughout the country—the Boston Latin school; but I have to testify that the chief disciplinary motive to which I felt myself subjected during my boyhood in that school was fear—fear of the rough tongue of the teacher, fear of the harsh construction put on the childish motive and the childish conduct, and fear of physical pain as an inducement to an unnatural quietness and to mental application. That is a true picture of school discipline before the middle of the last century all over the world, the school world, for thousands of years; but here in about the middle of this very century came a great change. It came partly through the church. Fear began to cease to be the prime religious motive. Men began to find out that systematic theology is an exclusively human science. They began to see that it was a marvelously presumptuous thing in one man, though he was a St. Augustine, a Calvin, or a Dr. Hodge, to undertake to state in the forms of human logic God's scheme for the salvation of men, and to describe the nature and the results of God's justice. Men began to emancipate themselves from the terrors of systematic theology. Then, too, we began to learn all over this country that government should not really be what for thousands of years government had been—the

work of one arbitrary will, or of a few arbitrary wills; but rather that it should be government by the people for the people. We all began to think that the right conception of government for the citizen might teach us something concerning the government of a child. It occurred to us that, if self government was the whole object of political freedom, then self control might be the legitimate primary object of a child's development. Again, home discipline began to change for the better. Family government became gentler; and all these changes in society helped wonderfully to the beneficent change in the school. There has not been a more blessed change in the world than this change in home and school discipline from fear to love, from driving to leading. Wonderful has been the fruit of this change on the temper of our people and the happiness of our homes.

I pass on to another immense change, brought about quite outside the schools and colleges, which has nevertheless affected profoundly the public provision of systematic instruction. During the last fifty years, on account of industrial changes, the population in our own country, and in most of the civilized countries of the world, has been rushing into cities and large towns. This rush into urban life has had a very ill effect on schools. It has tended to make schools large machines; and of course it has deprived the children of the natural out of door sports of country life. The grading of classes in a large school had to be inflexible, and the product had to be uniform like that of a flour mill. That meant that the quick children were held back and the slow were driven forward, to the great disadvantage of both sorts. It meant also bad air, bad light, and crowded rooms, with fifty or seventy pupils to a teacher. These are impossible conditions for good teaching. The condensation of population introduced new risks of health; so that what was the normal rural death rate rose in all large cities and towns to an unnatural height. The children suffered most from these increasing risks. Gradually, but chiefly within the last twenty years, we began to escape from some of these evils. We gave greater attention to good air, proper heat, and proper light; we gave greater flexibility to programs, and options among studies; in

short, we attended to the conditions under which the children and the teachers worked, and tried to make them wholesome. But more than that it has been absolutely necessary to do.

When a child grows up in the country it gets a natural training in accurate observation. It wants to find a four leaf clover; it runs to see where the green snake went to; it tracks the woodchuck to its hole and gets it out; it learns the songs of the birds; and knows when the smelts run up the brooks, and when the twilight is just right for finding the partridges. In short, the country child gets naturally a broad training in observation. It also has on the farm an admirable training in manual labor. From an early age it can actually contribute to the care of animals, the successful conduct of the household, and the general welfare of the family. In the city all this natural training is lacking, and substitutes for it have to be artificially provided. This necessity has brought into our schools nature study and manual training, to teach the child to use its eyes and its hands, and to develop its senses and its muscular powers; and these new beneficent agencies in education, already well in play, are in the near future to go far beyond any stage at present reached. We do not yet see how to replace in urban education the training which the farmer's boy or the seacoast boy gets from his habitual contest with the adverse forces of nature. The Gott's island boy, on the coast of Maine, goes out with his father in the early winter morning in a half open sailboat to visit their lobster traps and bring home the entrapped lobsters. They start with a gentle breeze and a quiet sea, though the temperature is low. The boy knows just how to steer the boat five or six miles to sea, where the traps are sunk on some rocky spot which the lobsters love. The father is busy pulling the traps; the boy watches the weather, and suddenly he says: "Father, there is a northwester coming. See the clouds driving this way over the hills!" The boy knows just as well as the father what that means. It means a fearful beat to windward to get home, facing a savage wind and a falling temperature, the spray dashing over the vessel, and freezing to the sails and ropes, and loading down the bow with ice. It means a life and death struggle for hours—the question being: Shall we



get into harbor or not before we sink? Now, that is a magnificent training for a boy, and the sheltered city offers nothing like it. The adverse forces of nature, if not so formidable that men cannot cope with them, are strenuous teachers; but in modern cities we hardly know that the wind blows, or that the flood is coming, or that bitter cold is imperiling all animal life.

Lastly, a new motive is presented in our day to the teacher, the parent, and the children—the motive of joy through achievement. The great joy in life for us all, after the domestic affections, is doing something and doing it well, getting where we want to get, and bringing others where they would like to be. Give every child, we say, the joy of achievement. Do not set it to do what you know it cannot do well. Set it to do what you think it can do well, and show it how. That is just what goes on in a happy kindergarten, or in a successful university conference or seminary. This is the new and happy aim in modern education—joy and gladness in achievement. I need not say that freedom is necessary to this joy. Schools used to set children doing things they could not do well. That, is the unpardonable sin in educational administration. It is not for the happiness of the children only that this new motive—to increase joy—has come to bless us. It brings new happiness to the teacher also. It is means of happiness for everybody throughout life. As a result of the advent of this new policy we are learning not to use with children a motive that will not work when the children are grown up. To be sure, we must admit that this doctrine condemns almost all the school discipline of the past, and much of the family discipline; but the future will not mind that, if it finds the new doctrine beneficent.

I do not know a more sacred occupation than the function of a superintendent of schools in the United States. The more I see of the kind of work a good superintendent does, the more I am impressed with its beneficent character. It seems to me that nobody's name lives in this world—to be blessed—that has not associated his life work with some kind of human emancipation, physical, mental, or moral.

## THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

BY R. E. HUGHES.

[R. E. Hughes is the leading British authority on comparative education, and has made first hand investigations of the school systems of the principal countries of the world. A graduate of Oxford university and the College of London, he has been a professor of pedagogy. His studies on comparative education are embodied in *Schools at Home and Abroad* and *The Making of Citizens*, and he is author also of many contributions to the educational periodicals of Europe and America.]

A study of American education convinces the impartial critic that, behind all the imperfections and inequalities of the system, there is an intense national earnestness, which will carry this people to a future that is as yet but dimly perceived and understood. America is climbing to the stars blind-folded and unconsciously. The mountain is indeed in labor, but instead of a mouse there will come forth a child, bearing the torch in its hand, and scattering the rays of the democratic ideal around a benighted world.

The American pioneers, sprung as they were from the Puritanical stock of England, carried with them an intense belief in the virtue of education. Exiles from the country they loved, they asked only that in quiet insignificance they might lay the foundations of civil and religious liberty. But these men of such strong convictions, who for principle were willing to pay the price of banishment, were alike worthy of honor for the nobility of their lineage and for their high intellectual acquirements. A New England writer says that they were the most highly educated men that ever led colonies. We shall not, then, be surprised to find that they devoted themselves with such earnestness to the cause of education, being fully aware that without the schoolmaster and schoolhouse, nothing could save them from sinking into barbarism. Such was their conviction on this point, that scarcely a lustrum was allowed to pass before they placed the schoolhouse beside the church, determined that upon these two—education and religion—they would lay the foundation of the new government. To realize the democratic ideal, which is the foundation stone

of the American commonwealth, it was necessary to organize an effective system of universal education. And so we find the fathers of Massachusetts inaugurating a system of public schools as far back as 1647, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers." This national belief in the absolute necessity of education for the well being of the commonwealth is reiterated again and again. "I apprehend," said Daniel Webster, "no danger to our country from a foreign foe; . . . our destruction, should it come at all, will be from another quarter. From the inattention of the people to the concerns of the government, from their carelessness and negligence, I confess I do apprehend some danger. I fear that they may place too implicit confidence in their public servants, and fail properly to scrutinize their conduct; that in this way they may be the dupes of designing men, and become the instruments of their undoing. Make them intelligent, and they will be vigilant; give them the means of detecting the wrong, and they will apply the remedy." And he called the free public school a wise and liberal system of police, by which property and the peace of society are secured.

The American people have recognized the absolute indispensability of a national system of education. The school system is an essential part of the social organism. The whole of society is permeated by this respect for the school. There is, as a German observer said, a great hunger for education. This people feel that there is no greater crime upon God's footstool than ignorance. Ignorance is the mother of all evil.

The politician, it is true, has hitherto done much to hinder the satisfying of this desire; yet there are unmistakable signs that this will not be tolerated much longer. This intense belief in education will do more than all the governments in the world; faith will move mountains. The American common people believe in their schools, the European common people only tolerate them.

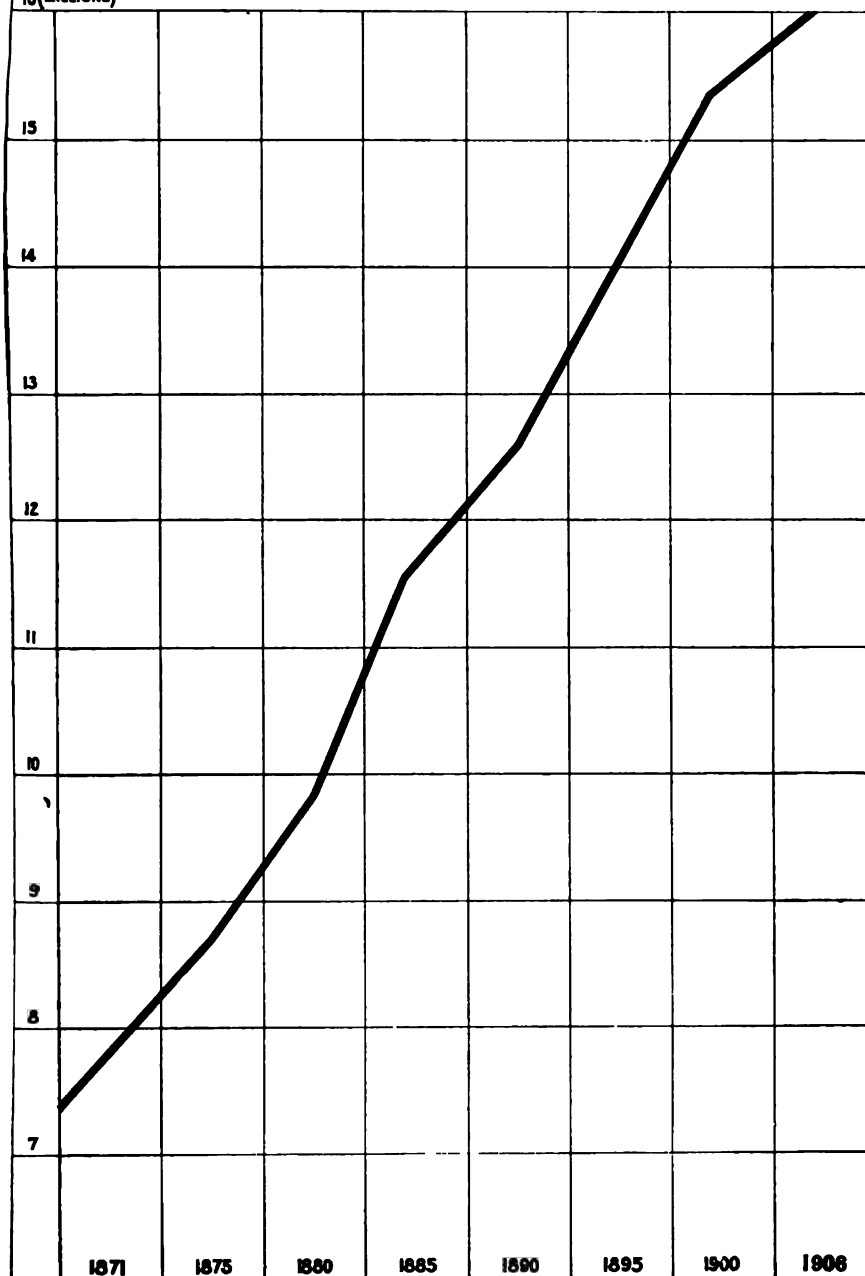
With the American's enthusiastic faith in the future of his schools has grown a determination that they shall be the expression of the national democratic ideal. American democracy—Saxon democracy—is individualistic, not social. Every citizen is entitled to complete self development, chiefly





# NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1906

16 (MILLIONS)



is held that this is the inalienable right not only of the community, but of the child too. Only the best is good enough for the child.

Wherever God has scattered the precious seeds of bright intellect and genius the state must find them out, nurture, nourish, and train them, so that in the good time they may blossom forth and bring forth an hundredfold. It is the grossest neglect and waste to allow these plants to die for want of food and care. "A man capable of development has the right to be educated, and the state or the family which deprives the boy or girl of that inalienable right for the fullest development of his moral, intellectual, and spiritual nature, is doing a grievous wrong to that child, and committing treason against the state in which he lives," writes J. L. M. Curry.

Hence we find that the democratic ideal, in one direction at any rate, is realized in America by the completion of the educational ladder. There is no cul-de-sac tolerated in American education.

Strictly speaking, there is no national system of education, yet in many respects no system of education is more truly popular and national than that of America. It is particularly difficult for a European (least so, for an Englishman), accustomed as he is to state help and control, to appreciate the fine points of American education. Its finest characteristics are spiritual and intangible, and cannot be classified or quantified. An American educator writes: "It is, of course, difficult for one not familiar with American institutions and American ways to understand or appreciate the American school system. To him it seems anything but a system. It is a product of conditions. It is at once expressive of the American spirit, and it is energizing, culturing, and ennobling that spirit. It is settling down to an orderly and symmetrical institution. It is becoming scientific, and it is doing its work efficiently. It exerts a telling influence upon every person in the land, and is proving that it is supplying an education broad enough and of a kind to support free institutions."

It is exceedingly difficult to describe briefly the administration of education in America. The greatest variety prevails. Spontaneity is the keynote of education in the United

**States.** Its varied form, its uneven progress, its lack of symmetry, its practical ineffectiveness, are all due to the fact that it has sprung unbidden and unforced from the needs and aspirations of the people. Local preference and individual initiative have been ruling forces. What men have wished for, that they have done. They have not waited for state assistance or for state control.

Education is considered, or was considered, to be a local matter, not a national matter. It was the duty of the local community to educate its future citizens. The true historical unit which persists to the present day in American education is the school district, which consists of the area that supplies the school with children. The legal voters of that district together form the electorate for school purposes, and in public meeting appoint representatives to administer the affairs of the school. The number of such school districts is, of course, enormous; there are over twelve thousand of them in New York state alone. In the southern states, the local unit of school administration was from the earliest days, and owing to historical causes, the county. The advantages of consolidating these numerous school districts were, of course, obvious, and thus arose what is known as the township system, in which we have larger areas containing more and larger schools. This system, too, of course, lends itself to the establishment of public secondary schools.

The feeling of local independence, however, is very strong, and the district system is still predominant. Besides, local pride and independence, too often indeed purely personal motives, have helped to maintain the small, inefficient school. The number of these small schools is very large, and absolutely prejudicial to the best interests of education. As the need of increased education pressed more heavily upon the local community, they began to turn towards the central power, the state, for help; and the principle of state help and control has gradually become recognized as possible in America. Even to-day, however, the authority of the state officers over the local authorities is in many of the states confined to collecting and publishing statistics and delivering occasional lectures. In other states, however, the authority of the state

U. S. N.



superintendent of education is very great; for example, the state superintendent for New York apportions the state school funds; he determines the conditions of admission, the courses of work and the employment of teachers, and audits all the accounts of the twelve normal schools of the state; he has unlimited authority over the examination and certification of teachers; he regulates the official action of the school commissioners in all of the assembly districts of the state. He appoints the teachers' institutes, arranges the work, names the instructors, and pays the bills. He determines the boundaries of school districts. He provides schools for the defective classes, and for the seven Indian reservations remaining in the state. He may condemn schoolhouses, and require new ones to be built. He may direct new furnishings to be provided. He is a member of the state board of regents, and of the trustees of Cornell university. He may entertain appeals by any person conceiving himself aggrieved from any order or proceeding of local school officials, determine the practice therein, and make final disposition of the matter in dispute, and his decision cannot be called in question in any court or in any other place.

The county system of the south, and the city school systems generally, require some further remarks.

The county boards of education are constituted in diverse ways. In Georgia the grand jury selects from the freeholders five persons to act as the county board; in North Carolina the county justices and commissioners nominate the education board. In Florida the county board is selected directly by the people every two years. In other states a county superintendent is appointed to carry on the work of the school. He fixes the sites, selects the text books, examines and appoints the teachers, and prescribes the curricula of the schools in the county.

The same extreme diversity is found in the administration of city school systems. In the greater number of cities the boards of education are elected by the people, in some cases on a general city ticket, and again by wards or sub-districts; in some cases at a general or municipal election, and in others at elections held for the particular purpose. But in many

cities, and particularly the larger ones, the boards are appointed by the mayor alone, or by the mayor and city council acting jointly. In the city of Philadelphia the board is appointed by the city judges, in Pittsburg by local directors, and in New Orleans by the state board of education.

The city boards may do everything except decide what amount shall be spent annually on education; occasionally, however, they even have that power. They erect buildings, appoint teachers, fix salaries, and generally control the whole system of schools in the city. Past experience of these city school boards has not bred unlimited confidence in them amongst the people. They are generally seized upon as legitimate fields for enterprise by the political boss, and the efficiency of the school has too often been sacrificed to the greed of the politician. Spoils to the victors, cry they—there is a clean motto for every dirty crime. There is no need to use strong language on this point; Americans themselves do that.

All American educators confess with indignant eloquence this barefaced robbery of the child, and there can be no doubt that the people themselves are beginning to see how fearfully they are being victimized by unscrupulous demagogues. Throughout the states at the present time there is evidence of the awakening, there is an earnest endeavor to remove the school from the effects of popular caprice and change.

The federal government has nothing to do with popular education, except in these ways:

1. It maintains at Washington the bureau of the commissioner of education, which has become the great clearing house of the educational world. Valuable reports on foreign systems of education are compiled and largely circulated, and statistics on American education published. What this bureau has done for education throughout the civilized world it is impossible to estimate.

2. It provides for popular education in Alaska.

3. Large grants of land, etc., are occasionally made to the different states for the furtherance of education.

The extraordinary diversity of effort in the educational life of America is not without interest and significance. The

people have to solve a problem which has never been solved before—namely, how to maintain high efficiency without the stimulus of an external authority. Whether they will be able to do so at all is a moot point. However, they are no imitators of Europe in this matter, and whatever solution may be ultimately arrived at, it is certain to be novel and national.

It may further be observed that the situation is most promising, the heart is sound, and the people themselves are intensely in earnest. They believe in their schools, and are determined to make them the best in the world. With such a spirit, much can be accomplished.

In comparing the United States of America with European countries, one is apt to overlook the fact that each state is, at any rate in educational matters, a sovereign independent state, and that consequently the basis of a strict comparison with the United States of America would be the federated states of Europe. In that case, Americans might reasonably say that the proper area of comparison for Kentucky or Carolina is not Germany but Spain, not France but Italy.

In the matter of the laws of school attendance and child labor, the greatest variety prevails amongst the various states. Thus we find that compulsory attendance laws are on the statute books of 30 states, 1 territory, and the District of Columbia; whilst 16 states and 1 territory have no laws upon the subject. Then the laws for compulsory attendance, when in existence, vary considerably. Thus the age of compulsory attendance is for most states from 8 to 14; but it is—

- 8 to 15 years for Maine and Washington;
- 6 to 16 in New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and New Mexico;
- 7 to 12 in New Jersey;
- 7 to 13 in Wisconsin;
- 7 to 14 in Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Illinois;
- 7 to 15 in Rhode Island;
- 7 to 16 in Wyoming.

The number of days that a child must attend to comply with the laws is very variable. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the child must attend every time the school is open, with a minimum of 30 weeks, if school is open so long; if not,

then 20 weeks. In New York and Rhode Island the conditions are similar, but certain relaxations of the law are allowed for children who work. In California the child must make two thirds of the possible attendances, and in Pennsylvania 70 per cent of the same.

The law is complied with by an attendance of 20 weeks per annum in Vermont, New Jersey, Ohio, and Utah; by 16 weeks in Maine, West Virginia, Illinois, Michigan, and Nevada; and by 12 weeks in New Hampshire, District of Columbia, Idaho, Washington, Indiana, Kansas, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and New Mexico. In Kentucky 8 weeks per annum is the demand. The fine for noncompliance varies for the first offence from 1 to 25 dollars, which is increased for subsequent offences, and occasionally may end in imprisonment.

These requirements are remarkably low, when compared with the 40 weeks of the German, French, and English schools; but in some parts of rural America, especially in the more remote parts, the school is in many respects closely similar to the ambulatory schools of northern Europe, where much the same conditions prevail.

As a matter of fact, even in those states where compulsory laws exist, they are rarely put into force, and we even hear of state officials publicly stating that the existence of such laws was unknown to many people. Children leave school long before they are entitled to do so. In many states quite half leave before they are eleven years of age, and three fourths before they have reached the top class of the elementary school. In many of the largest of American cities there is a very cogent reason why the compulsory law is not enforced; for, where the school accommodation is so inadequate that half day schools have to be organized to meet the requirements of those who come voluntarily, there is no room for a law to compel the unwilling. It is appalling to think that the city of New York annually spends more upon its police than upon its schools, but it can hardly be wondered at when the fearful inadequacy of school accommodation in that empire city is considered. A governor of New York state publicly affirmed

that thousands of children in the large cities of America are growing up absolutely destitute of a school education.

The weak feature of most of these state laws of compulsory attendance is that, as a rule, it appears to be nobody's special business to enforce them. It is sometimes the school trustees, as in Idaho, the school boards in Michigan, the police in New Jersey, clerk of the board of education or district trustees in California, the presidents of school boards and boards of education in North Dakota, and truant officers in Ohio. Of late years some of the states have taken the matter of the nonenforcement of the school law seriously in hand, and have appointed special truant officers, and organized truant schools.

With reference to the laws of child labor, considerable variety obtains here again, and we can only attempt to give the main features.

In many states there are laws absolutely prohibiting the employment of children under a certain specified age. Others have laws which permit the employment of children of a certain age only when the schools are not open, or provided they have made a certain number of attendances at school in the year.

These laws are none too liberal, and require considerable amendment to make them worthy of the American commonwealth. Even as it is they are not rigidly enforced. A keen German critic writes: "It is almost ludicrous to say that compulsory education is generally adopted in the United States. To understand that neglected children are not disposed to go to school, we must visit the labor quarters of cities like New York, Chicago, etc., and see the children come out of the factories."

The early age at which children leave school in America is not altogether due to defective legislation or pernicious social influences. The American boy, like the American people generally, is in a hurry. The atmosphere is bracing, and children mature quicker than in Europe. Even the question of the age of leaving school may be largely due to climatic influences. America is more bracing than England, and England than France, and France than Germany. Americans

crowd much into life before they are twenty, and English boys are ruling in India at an age when the German boy is at school. To read of what Edison did before he was twenty is to understand that many matters American must indeed seem strange to a German.

The American boy and girl hear the busy hum and see the rapid changes of life from their class room windows, and they go out into the crowd at an age when in Europe children cling to the mother's skirt and the father's hand. They are men and women at an age when in France or Germany they would be but school children.

The value of the national lands devoted to educational purposes by the government of the United States is estimated at \$300,000,000. The area of this land is 134,591 square miles.

The amount devoted to educational purposes in the more progressive states is unequalled elsewhere in the world. There is a munificent liberality apparent, which is not only evidence of the popular appreciation of education, but is pregnant with promise.

Just one or two other matters require notice. In France and Prussia the urban population is, indirectly at any rate, called in to assist the rural population in providing schooling for its children. In America it may be observed that the state contribution is generally largest in those states where the rural population is the largest. But more than that, in some states, as for example in the state of New York, the cities contribute annually to the support of the schools in the rural districts. It has been estimated that over \$500,000 is thus annually paid by the cities of New York state.

The school buildings of America generally excite the admiration of the visitor. The practical, inventive turn of mind of the people has been directed to the improvement of the building and equipment of the school. M. Levasseur speaks in high praise of the premises, which he observes may, and indeed do, serve as models for Europe to copy. Mr. Grasby, too, is emphatic in his opinion as to their general superiority over the European school, particularly as regards convenience, adaptability, and comfort. It was Michel

Chevalier who said that there were three buildings indispensable to an American community—namely, the church, the school, and the bank. However, these opinions apply particularly to the more progressive urban centers of America. In the rural districts, the schools are often merely log cabins or hired rooms.

The American rural school is generally a wooden building or a room specially hired for the time. Sometimes these wooden structures are elegant and suitable, at other times they are cold, damp, and ugly, so much so that school can only be held in them during the warmer and drier weather.

The teacher is hired for the season, and is generally a bird of passage. His qualifications are sometimes peculiar, nearly always poor. The length of the school year depends entirely upon the amount of funds at the disposal of the school managers. There is no uniform set of text books used—each child brings his own; sometimes they do without any until Pa has been to town and purchased one. This Pa often forgets to do, and when he does not forget he generally obtains the wrong kind. However, the parents, who control the situation generally, insist upon their children getting individual and special instruction, and so the little school of ten or twenty children is broken up into numerous little squads, each going on its own way. Sometimes the top pupils will be dabbling in algebra, Euclid, or Latin, side by side with the alphabetters. Surely not much good work can be done here; nevertheless, the pupils are all ultimately taught to read, and that in a democratic country, with its newspaper civilization, is a distinct gain. The transformation of an illiterate population into one that reads the daily newspaper, and perforce thinks on national and international interests, is thus far the greatest good accomplished by the free public school system of the United States.

The typical urban school building of America is of two stories with eight rooms, and with accommodation for 370 children, but in the largest city schools affording room for over 2,000 children are becoming the rule. These buildings are four stories high, and have either only a very small playground or none at all. In the city of New York some schools

with an attendance of 2,000 or 3,000 pupils have not one square foot of ground for the pupils to stand on, except the public street, after making their exit from a building of several stories.

In Chicago one school has accommodation for 1,320 pupils. The Chicago schools have generally 16 class rooms and an assembly hall, which can be converted into class rooms if necessary. They are of three stories, six class rooms on each of the lower stories, and four class rooms and the assembly hall at the top.

In Philadelphia the schools have 10, 12, up to 18 or 21 class rooms, according to local needs. Huge schools are becoming the rule in most American cities.

Despite this fact, the deficiency of school accommodation in many of the largest of American cities is simply appalling, and we have the extraordinary spectacle of some of the richest cities in the world, such as New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Washington, actually resorting to the system of half day schools, which is only tolerated in the poorest provinces of Europe. In the newer city schools the ventilation is effected by fans, and they are heated by the indirect steam method. The buildings are erected on steel skeleton frames, and the lighting is generally admirable.

There is a noticeable absence of the military discipline of the European school; yet, on the whole, the discipline is considered by practically all observers to be admirable. The teacher depends more upon interest and loyalty than upon authority to secure discipline.

The vast majority of city schools possess a library; indeed, there is sometimes a separate library in each class room. More than this, in New York and elsewhere the city public library is often located in the school building, and in many other cities special facilities for school children are provided. The library, both school and public, is more real and effective in America than in Europe.

Pianos, too, are general in American schools. The assembly halls and class rooms are often tastefully decorated. There is a separate desk for each child, with a revolving seat with back. The blackboard runs right around the room



of 60,000 are required. There are in the United States 167 public normal schools primarily intended for the training of teachers, and supported either by the state or city. These have 46,245 students, and turn out annually 8,000 students who have completed the course. Besides these there are 178 private normal schools with 21,293 students, which supply annually 3,000 more completed students. Thus the normal schools under present conditions can supply about one sixth of the annual demand. It must not be overlooked, however, that it is the trained teacher who is most likely to remain in the profession, so that the proportion of trained teachers is certainly greater than would be indicated by the annual supply from the normal schools.

On the other hand, it must be stated that many of these normal schools are such in name only. The normal school does some of the work of the high school, but mingles with it professional training for teachers. There are schools of this character at New York and Philadelphia.

Professor Hinsdale thus compares the American and the Prussian normal school:

"While the German schools confine themselves exclusively to training intending teachers, including, to be sure, much academic instruction, American schools generally do a large amount of miscellaneous teaching. To a great extent they parallel the work of the high schools, and to some extent even the elementary schools. In the second place, this wide range of work accounts in part for the much greater size of the American schools. It must always be borne in mind that a large proportion of these American pupils are in no proper sense normal pupils. In the third place, there is necessarily a great disparity in the size of the respective faculties. An ordinary Prussian normal school requires but nine teachers, including the two in the practice school, while our normal school staffs often number fifty or sixty persons. It is clear, therefore, that we have not yet realized the pure normal school type, as Germany, for example, has done. Nor can it be doubted that our schools, as institutions for training teachers, have often suffered greatly from their overgrown numbers and large classes."

Over half the teachers of the state of Pennsylvania are only provisionally certificated, and nine thousand of them have received no other education than that provided by the common school. This professional weakness of the American teacher has led to two developments—

1. The appointment of an expert to take charge of the city or county system, whose chief duty it is to train the teacher professionally.

2. The growth of subsidiary means of training by which the teacher is able during school vacations, and at other times, to attend special courses and conferences on pedagogical subjects.

The American teacher knows her weakness, and is most ready to learn. "I am convinced," says Mr. Findlay, "that there is in the minds of American teachers a desire to learn about education, a humility with reference to their present knowledge of the subject which contrasts favorably with the attitude of the successful teacher in European countries." And the president of Haverford college, who has made a special study of the English system of schools, is still more pointed:

"Our system has a tremendous and overflowing vitality, which promises more for the future than the well fitted machinery of England. Did you ever live in a country town during the week of a teachers' institute? It is a greater attraction than the new railroad or the circus. The air is saturated with educational questions. The teachers, often of the same social grade as the best of the residents, are received into the homes and made the central features of the excitement. Better still, have you ever been to a state or national education convention? The discussions do not strike one as being in the least shallow or vaguely general. . . . Thus our country is permeated with educational life. England does not know much of it. Her teachers do not read professional literature, as ours do. They do not communicate popular enthusiasm for education as ours do, although they are often more highly trained."

The superintendent is the head of the city administrative machine for education. He generally examines and appoints all teachers, has a considerable voice in the selection of text

books, and prescribes not only the course of study for the schools, but details the methods to be pursued. The result is that oftentimes the efficiency of a school is estimated by the care and faithfulness with which the superintendent's instructions have been carried out. The results are often admirable, and generally very much better than could be anticipated, were the quality of the staff and their previous professional training alone considered. But in the case of the trained, skillful, and resourceful teacher, so little is left to his own individuality that the system often becomes very galling, and indeed something like tyranny arises.

To supplement the training of the teacher a number of characteristic institutions have arisen in America. Such are the teachers' institutes, summer schools, and reading unions. The institute may be confined to the teachers of a single city, county, or state, or may be constituted by an amalgamation of two or more of these units. It consists of a series of conferences, lectures, and discussions, in which the chief officials and teachers take part. It may extend from a couple of days to weeks. Attendance is often compulsory. In the state of New York as many as 106 institutes were held in one year, and attended by over 16,000 teachers. The summer school is an attempt to combine the advantages of the normal school and the teachers' institute, and is generally held in the normal school during the summer vacation. It is estimated that half the total number of teachers in the United States attend either one or other of these various organizations for subsidiary training.

The most remarkable feature of the American system is the extreme variation in efficiency noticeable. Between some of the city schools and the rural, it is possible to find every variety of educational efficiency. The city school is, in many respects, admirable, and comparable with the best European schools. In these schools some of the most suggestive experiments are being tried. They are not hampered either by a central bureaucratic authority or by tradition.

Nature study is made the fundamental basis of the curriculum, and thought expression is taught not by pencil and

pen and tongue only, but by means of the skilled hand and with modeling knife, brush, and chalk.

Finally, let it be remarked that in the better American school a strenuous effort is made to develop the personality of each pupil. His self respect is fostered. He is allowed to grow strong in his own strength. He is permitted freedom to grow. His resourcefulness is developed. He is taught to rely upon himself—not upon his teacher. And no school can do more than this, and any school may do less only at its peril.

The public authority for secondary education is the same as for primary, and will therefore need no description here. The same variety of administration, of means adopted, that was noticed in the common school system is, of course, equally evident in the secondary system. The state does not prohibit private secondary schools—in fact it has in the past often subsidized them by grants of public lands, nor are such private schools subject to any form of public control or inspection.

The community recognizes its duty to provide public secondary schools for all, and many of such schools are free. As these public schools are available for all, they do not appeal to some. People of a certain class of society and wealth prefer the private secondary school. Here they may have the dogmatic religious teaching which they desire for their boys, but which the public school cannot give. Some of the private schools, too, enjoy a high social status, and consequently appeal by that fact alone to certain parents.

In American official statistics it is usual to include under the term secondary schools the normal schools, which, as we have already seen, are often high schools with a pedagogic bias to their curriculum, as well as colleges, universities, and manual training schools.

We propose, however, to confine ourselves to the public and private high schools, in which, as a matter of fact, practically seven eighths of all so-called secondary scholars are taught.

It is computed that there are over 600,000 pupils following a course of secondary studies in American schools; but such a computation is of doubtful value for comparative purposes.

American secondary schools are divisible into two classes, the public high school and the private school, of which the American academy is the best known type.

The public high school is supported by public funds. The majority of these schools charge no fee. Dogmatic religious teaching is forbidden, but the bible may be and often is read—without comment. Attendance is not compulsory, but the school is available for all. Sometimes an entrance examination must be passed before admission.

The fact that only some 40 per cent of the pupils of the public high schools are boys is very significant. It was noticed, too, in the primary school that the boys leave before the girls. As a result of this early age of leaving and short school life of boys in America, women are gradually monopolizing the intellectual heritage of the people. This early age at which the boy enters upon life is generally deplored, yet it may perhaps be explained by the literary curriculum of the school. If school and life were nearer together, the delay in entering the turbid waters of the world might be sought by all. At present neither parent nor child appreciates it.

As it is, the English or American boy who leaves school at sixteen is asserted to be at twenty one often a better trained, better cultured man in the best sense than is the graduated pupil of the gymnasium or lycée at that age.

It is not all to the good that so large a number of French and German lads delay their entry into life until they are nineteen or twenty years old.

The American boy is so anxious to be in the middle of the strife that he can barely find time to play. Manhood is crowding childhood out of life. Let us hope it will crowd out nothing more, for "Genius," said Coleridge, "is the power of carrying the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood," and Schopenhauer asserted, "every child is to a certain extent a genius, and every genius is to a certain extent a child."

America, however, gives its youth freedom. They are not curbed by custom or checked by old men's saws. Nowhere is youth more respected and more trusted.

The course of the high school is, as a rule, one of four years, though in some districts a six years' course is arranged. The majority of pupils leave after completing only one or two years of the course.

This public high school has already encountered some of the difficulties that attend a common secondary school. When first commenced, they were intended to act as higher primary or finishing schools; but as time went on, they took on more and more of a secondary character, and found themselves competing for public favor with the academies. Martin says: "It was inevitable that the high school should from the outset come into competition with the ancient academy and the private school. As with all organisms deriving their sustenance from the same source, and seeking to maintain themselves in the same environment, there began a struggle for existence. The academies gradually weakened; most of them dragged out a lingering existence for a shorter or longer time, and finally gave up the struggle. A few of the stronger ones, becoming sharply specialized as fitting schools and feeders of denominational colleges, remain; but their ancient occupation is gone. They no longer take the boys and girls fresh from rural homes and district schools with awkward manners and homespun clothes, and give them glimpses of the broader world of men and books—a world else all unknown. Now, many of their students come from homes of wealth—most often new made wealth—they come from parents who love not learning more, but exclusiveness."

The public high school as at present organized is endeavoring to meet the needs of two classes of students: first, those who are proceeding from this school to the university college, and who, therefore, need a true intermediate or secondary education. To such students a knowledge of the classical tongues is almost, if not quite, indispensable. Only a fraction of the secondary pupils proceed beyond the public high school, yet, as we shall see later on, quite half the pupils in these schools take up Latin.

There is further to be considered the claims of nearly 90 per cent of the total number of pupils who attend these schools. To them the school is a finishing school, and its curriculum

should, to some extent at any rate, be a preparation for the life they will soon be in the midst of. Occasionally, and especially in rural high schools, the curriculum becomes a very utilitarian one, with bookkeeping and shorthand and such like technical accomplishments occupying conspicuous places.

In parenthesis let us remark that besides these somewhat utilitarian claims of college and life upon the secondary school, that school has a still deeper and more vital national claim to meet.

The secondary school (with the university) is the depository of the heritage of national culture. It is in that bank that the intellectual capital of the people is stored. It is in that temple that the acolytes who are to bear aloft the torch of national culture are trained.

It is in this school alone that the children of the nation, the citizens of to-morrow, are first able to realize and appreciate their share of that common stock of knowledge which is the national inheritance. Each people is joint heir to the intellectual capital of the universe. Every child is the heir of the ages. And it is only in the higher school that the will can be proven.

These conflicting claims have hitherto made it impossible for the high school in many districts to perform the function of a true secondary school. It has had to be content with the more modest rôle of a finishing, or, in European parlance, a higher primary school.

There was the college on one side pressing for classical studies, on the other side were the parents of the majority of the children, and ratepayers to boot. The stronger side won, and the majority of high schools were compelled to abandon the field of preparing for the universities to the private schools—the academies.

It would thus appear as if the majority of high schools could no longer claim to be secondary schools in the strict sense of the word. It is certain that, like all schools that lack unity of aim, they have suffered from dissipation of energy. An examination of the curricula of these public high schools will show that the principal subjects of instruction are, in order of choice—

Algebra,	Rhetoric,
Latin,	Physiology,
English Literature,	Geometry, and
History,	Physical Geography;

whereas Greek, French, and Chemistry are taken by only very few pupils indeed. In the private schools, on the contrary, French, German, and Greek are taken up by a considerable proportion.

It is necessary to say something of the evening high school which every township in the state of Massachusetts, of fifty thousand or more people, is compelled to maintain. A similar type of school is found in other states. The curriculum is of a most eclectic character, and is designed to meet the very varied and practical needs of young people whose ordinary education was completed in the day primary school.

Visitors are impressed by the elegance and convenience of the fittings of the school, and by the unmistakable purpose to make school a pleasant and attractive place to the children. It has been asserted that the internal arrangements of these schools are as far superior to those of a European school as the Pullman car is ahead of the third class European railway carriage. Everything is appropriate; there is a deliberate selection of means to ends.

If America has done nothing more for pedagogy than the invention of the modern school desk, she has laid humanity under a great debt; thereby it may be possible to rear a race trained not only intellectually, but physically sound too. The apparatus of the American school is on the most elaborate and comprehensive scale. It is supplied with no niggardly hand.

The teaching of practical science has, in the best high schools, long been made a special feature of the school work; and this scientific training, which is based upon the cultivation of the child's self activity, has reacted upon the methods of teaching all the other subjects of the school curriculum.

The heuristic method is becoming the accepted method of the best high schools, as it already is of the best colleges.

There is, it is confessed, in the average high school a great amount of pure memorizing going on. The text book is still



the source of all the instruction in most schools; but the days of this poor system are evidently numbered, and in its place will be found the heuristic or inventive method.

The best high schools generally possess two laboratories for scientific training in practical physics and practical chemistry. This scientific training begins with practical physics, and not with practical chemistry, as is generally the case in England. The phenomena dealt with by elementary physics are undoubtedly of a simpler order than those dealt with by elementary chemistry. The former grow more easily upon child experience, and therefore may be organized and assimilated by the mind of the child much more readily than the phenomena of chemistry, which are more abstract and more out of the run, so to speak, of child experience. The result of this scientific training of the best high schools, though poor if measured by the mass of accumulated facts, is, on the other hand, judged by a leading German educator to be very valuable, if it is considered as a process of true education. These American boys, though they know much less than boys of the same age from the German gymnasium or French lycée, possess a sprightly vivacity of intellect, a large share of self reliance and independence, a keen love for intellectual pursuits, all of which would be looked for in vain in his French or German rival. Professor Riedler, the authority referred to, writes: "The secondary schools in America, gauged by their courses of instruction, and with our standard of measurement, offer a much lower preparation than ours. The linguistic branches are confined to English and the bare elements of foreign languages; the mathematical preparation does not go beyond quadratic equations, plane geometry, and the elements of trigonometry. But the students bring to their higher studies on an average a clearer conception, better imagination, and much more joy in creative work and independence than with us. This is owing to natural talent, rational education, and less overburdening in pursuit of a one-sided, dry linguistic study. They are not drilled much, nor are they spoiled by the quantity or the variety of study; they have open eyes, are accustomed to independent observation, and for the little they have learned they possess a very good

comprehension. In the secondary schools much care is taken in physical training and outdoor sports, which form a great treasure of valuable recollections in after life."

In the humanistic studies of the American school, the same method is applied. We are now dealing, let it be understood, with the best of these schools—the worst we have no time for.

The heuristic method, applied to the humanistic studies, is almost unknown in English schools; in America, it is being carried out on a thorough and complete plan.

The laboratory necessary for the application of heuristic principles to humanistic training is the school library. The American high school library is probably the best of school libraries. The books are arranged conveniently, and catalogued on a scientific method. In fact, the science of cataloguing the contents of libraries is far superior in the United States to what it is in Europe. Besides the school library, the municipal public library is often located on the school premises, and special accommodation is provided for school children in these libraries. The former are beautifully and comfortably furnished, and in them a pupil will pass a considerable portion of the total school hours. This period is arranged for in the school time table, the study hour being just as much an integral portion of the school session as the recitation periods. The library is, in fact, an integral and vital part of the school machinery. Here the pupils learn to use books as instruments for intellectual and moral growth.

Besides the school library, a few of the better equipped city high schools are provided with a reference library in each class room. This set of books is mainly for the teacher's use, to help her to illustrate and amplify the lesson. Both teacher and pupil constantly refer to books of reference during the lesson. In the teaching of geography and history, heuristic principles are applied, and the pupils are taught the comparative method of estimating statements and correcting judgments. There is a strenuous endeavor to cultivate a scientific attitude in the pupil, and for this purpose the school is equipped with efficient laboratories, museums, and libraries.

In German schools these are also found, but the contrast is this—in Germany these are used by the teacher, in America by the pupil. As a Scandinavian observed of the school exhibits at Chicago: "One may say that the German exhibit showed above all what is done for the pupils, while the United States exhibit contained that which is done by the pupils."

The curriculum of the high school shows, as might be anticipated, very considerable variety.

In rural districts, where the high school is largely an outgrowth, so to speak, of the primary schools, with practically no independent life of its own, and the students of which are almost entirely confined to those who need only a top dressing, the curriculum is generally poor in quality and quantity.

The staff of the rural school, with its meager funds, is all too poor both in quality and quantity for the work of secondary education; and so the school perforce lowers itself to the apparent needs of the community and the possibilities of its staff. But the work of true secondary education is largely abandoned, and the school contents itself with supplying higher primary education.

The high school of the urban districts, as we have already seen, is endeavoring to some extent to fill the gap between the primary school and the college. Were the requirements of the college entrance examinations uniform, it would be possible to design a curriculum that might by proper bifurcation meet the requirements of both those pupils who go to college and of those who proceed directly into life, and at the same time maintain that essential unity and solidarity which must underlie the philosophical curriculum.

Unfortunately, the requirements of the colleges vary enormously; so that to meet this variety the system of electives has become compulsory, and the energies of the school are dissipated in an endeavor to run a series of parallel curricula. Miss Zimmern mentions a school with a staff of four actually running four parallel courses! It is impossible to frame a curriculum or curricula which may be said to be typical of American schools, so enormously do these vary.

The intellectual heritage of the nation must be realized and made secure in the secondary school. There all citizens will capitalize their portion of the common stock of knowledge, and having obtained this they may safely proceed to the technical and professional schools, where the special training for life's needs will be received. It is more necessary that all be citizens than that all be professional men.

Moreover, by this elasticity of curricula individuality is nourished. There is room for character to grow, even in the school, in America. There is an infinite variety of type possible here, which is impossible in France or Germany, or indeed even in England. Consider the lack of variety of type turned out by the English public school, the French lycée, or the German gymnasium! Americans may have a lower standard, but it is a more interesting one.

The chief objection to this system is the method of carrying it out. Thus the choice of studies is left to parent and child, the most incompetent of judges as a rule. Children are naturally poor judges of their own aptitudes and capabilities; they are prone to mistake transitory impulses for special fitness; and though it has sometimes happened that boys' careers have been warped by the unwise choice of a foolish parent, yet, as a rule, these instances are insignificant beside the number of those who owe a successful career to the wisdom and foresight of their teachers and guardians.

The school hours in America are 9 to 12 and 2 to 4, or from 9 to 1:30, with no afternoon meeting. The public high school pupils have heavy home tasks. "American boys and girls seem expected to work much harder than English; for, after school hours, . . . there are a good many home lessons to be prepared, chiefly, it seemed to me, learning from text books," writes Zimmern.

School games are not so developed and organized in the American as in the English secondary school, but more so than in the German and French.

Other means are adopted of developing esprit de corps; thus, oratorical contests are held between different schools, as well as occasional musical contests.

The classes are generally organized by the pupils, and sometimes the whole discipline and government of the school are largely vested in school officers, selected from among themselves by the pupils in public meeting assembled. The graduation or speech day of the American school, too, is a function of considerable eclat and importance.

The American secondary teacher is not, as a rule, expected to possess professional qualifications different from those required of the primary teacher, but, in practice, some university training is a further qualification, and a degree is becoming the standard requirement in some cities. Professional training, too, is highly desirable, but by no means indispensable. Secondary teachers in America, however, do not, as in England, it has been said, think so well of themselves, or so poorly of their profession, that they consider a training unnecessary. Indeed, there are more chairs of pedagogy, and more students of pedagogy in American universities than elsewhere in the world, and the best of American city teachers have undoubtedly a professional enthusiasm that will compensate for much.

In discussing the system of America, it is important to remember that the democratic ideal has been a constant aim of the American people. They have from the beginning placed that as the pole star of their hopes. In the pursuit of this ideal they have discovered obstacles which have at times appeared almost insurmountable, and at times they seem to lapse from the full confession of their faith.

We have already seen that the first article of faith in this democratic doctrine is the essential solidarity of the school—one school for all.

All children of the nation between certain ages and certain abilities will be found in the same school. Each school will be independent of the one above or below it—it will live its own life and give its children only the best.

The curriculum of the secondary school will be a development, a fuller growth of that of the primary. The two curricula will differ only in quantity, not in kind. The essential solidarity of the curriculum of both schools will be recognized.

We have noticed the American primary school endeavoring to meet the needs for a complete primary training, which

the vast majority of its pupils ask for, and endeavoring also to prepare to the best of its ability the elite of its pupils for the secondary school. It has been suggested that secondary studies should be introduced into the three higher grades of the primary school, but this smattering of secondary studies would probably have, on the whole, an unhappy effect on the majority of primary school pupils.

Other teachers advocate the commencement of the secondary school course at twelve years instead of fourteen years of age. It is universally acknowledged that fourteen is a very late age for the pupil to begin secondary studies, and this late age undoubtedly accounts for the very superficial knowledge of real secondary studies that the average high school pupil possesses on leaving school. This late age of beginning and the short course of the secondary school—viz., four years—make a comparison between the attainments of the American secondary pupil with the secondary pupil of other countries unfair.

This system affords a sharp contrast to the systems of France and Germany. Indeed, as purely instruction machines there is hardly a comparison possible, and the product of the French or German system, looked at from the point of view of intellectual attainments, is far superior to the product of the American school.

Yet as a preparation for life—as a place for the development of character and the growth of individuality—who will decide between these schools?

It is true that the pupils from the high schools often have but a poor knowledge of the subjects of instruction; nevertheless, they have preserved the natural curiosity and acquisitiveness which children always take to school but rarely bring away with them, their physical stamina has not been lowered by excessive mental toil, the school games have developed their muscular powers and nourished their self resource, and they leave school, not indeed cultured citizens, but with a certain mental alertness; finally, during their school life they have not lost touch with the life outside. They go into the throng with ready wits, keen senses, and

a complete consciousness that the victories of life are in front, not behind them.

Their intellectual taste has not been satisfied but only sharpened by school life. They lack knowledge, but they have not lost the desire for knowledge, and they have acquired a certain power of securing knowledge for themselves. In fact, to the American, school is the beginning, not the end of education.

## THE AMERICAN SCHOOLBOY.

BY LUTHER H. GULICK.

[Luther Halsey Gulick, director of physical training in the public schools of Greater New York; born Dec. 4, 1865, in Honolulu, Hawaii; graduated from the medical department of New York university in 1889; has been secretary of physical training in the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. since 1887; 1900-03, was principal of Pratt Institute High school; in 1903 he became president of the Association for the Advancement of Physical Education as well as director of the physical training of the public schools of Greater New York; he is the author of *Physical Measurements*.]

From October to December, 1903, a commission of educational experts from England visited and studied the educational conditions of America. No one subject of their report has been more generally commented on by the public press than that which refers to the effects of our large number of women teachers. In order that I may be perfectly fair in considering these criticisms, I venture to quote them with some detail. My quotations are taken from the Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America, London, 1904. I have selected the statements from these reports as voicing the particular criticisms which we are to consider, because nowhere else have these criticisms been more fully or concisely made, as well as because they have attracted such widespread attention. It is not my aim to consider merely the report of the Mosely commission as such. I take this report because it stands for the whole subject. Professor Henry E. Armstrong, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S., says:

"Most of us who are conversant with school work were struck by the distinctly low average of attainment in the American high schools. To what is this attributable? In part probably to the conditions which prevail in American life, but in large measure also, I venture to think, to the prevalence of mixed schools and the preponderance of women teachers.

"Admitting that it may be possible, even desirable, to bring up the two sexes together in the early years of school life, I venture to think that we must sooner or later come to admit that it is wrong to do so during the later years, if the object be the development of a virile man. To put the matter



in very simple terms, it seemed to me on the occasion of my former visit—and the impression was confirmed during my recent visit—that the boy in America is not being brought up to punch another boy's head, or to stand having his own punched in a healthy and proper manner; that there is a strange and indefinable air coming over the man; a tendency toward a common, if I may so call it, sexless tone of thought.

“But if coeducation be bad in itself, it becomes infinitely worse when the teachers are mostly women; they should rather be men mostly. Nowhere is the claim on behalf of women to equality with men put forward so strongly as it is in the United States. Nowhere, I believe, would it be found to be more disproved in practice, if carefully inquired into. Women have sought in recent times to prove that they can compete successfully with men in every field; they claim to have succeeded, but the claim cannot be allowed, I think. They have shown—what it was unnecessary to show—that they are indefatigable workers; and they have shown that they can pass examinations with brilliant success. But what has been the character of the examinations? Almost invariably they have been such as to require the reproduction of learning, not original effort. History records but very few cases of women with any approach to originality; it proves the sex to have been lacking in creative, in imaginative power. Those who have taught women students are one and all in agreement that, although close workers and most faithful and accurate observers, yet, with the rarest exceptions, they are incapable of doing independent and original work. And it must be so. Throughout the entire period of her existence, woman has been man's slave; and if the theory of evolution be in any way correct, there is no reason to suppose, I imagine, that she will recover from the mental disabilities which this has entailed upon her within any period which we, for practical purposes, can regard as reasonable. Education can do little to modify her nature. The argument is one which women probably will not, perhaps cannot, appreciate. No better proof could be asked for, however, than is afforded by the consistent failure of women to discover special wants of their own—they have always merely asked to have what men have, to be allowed

to compete with men. Domestic subjects have been taught in the most perfunctory manner possible."

This quotation gives an excellent summary of the general point of view of the gentlemen of the Mosely commission.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the facts themselves, it is interesting to note that the critics do not think that woman's nature can be changed by education, but that man's can be, for Professor Armstrong says: "Education can do little to modify her nature."

Professor Armstrong evidently appreciates the force of social heredity in the case of boys, but not in the case of girls. This is to me an exceedingly interesting example of taking the two horns of a dilemma alternately, according to the point to be made.

Let us now examine the facts in the case. I draw my data from the schools of greater New York, because in New York city many of the problems of education are discovered in their most acute form; it is our largest American city, as well as because it has borne the brunt of especial criticism. In New York are seen the results of many conditions, such as congestion, which are not as yet equally apparent in smaller cities. To what extent is it true that the female teachers preponderate in the elementary schools?

We all agree that the teaching of children during the first few years of school life should be by women. The teaching of girls all through the elementary school should be by women, and one half of the instruction of boys should be by women. To accomplish this result in New York there would be needed 9,463 women and 810 men. As an actual fact New York city has 9,565 women and 708 men.

It does not appear, then, that the assumption that these boys are being effeminized because of the excess of women teachers is a true one. They may be becoming effeminized, but if they are it is not because of the preponderance of women teachers in the secondary schools. I have not been to the pains to get together the data with reference to the proportions of men and women teachers in the colleges, for these are at present attended by less than 2 per cent of our population,

and thus cannot be of specific and general influence in the directions claimed.

Granting that the case has been made clear, with reference to at least the New York public schools, that any possible effeminizing has not been due to the preponderance of women teachers, it is still to be answered as to whether the American, and particularly the New York boy, is becoming effeminized at all. Statistics upon this subject seem to me wholly unavailable, so that I can only call attention to certain widely known and exceedingly significant facts. Prominent—possibly most prominent—in the life of the American boy outside of school is his devotion to sports and games. Personal experience with this group of activities extending over twenty-four years and professional relations to athletic sports and gymnastic games for the last nineteen consecutive years have given me the opportunity for some conclusions with reference to the extent and power of these games, as well as to their nature and effects. I have not observed that the American boy has become less strenuous, courageous, resolute, enduring, indifferent to pain, in connection with these sports during these years.

Football, baseball, and basket ball have extended from the colleges with astounding rapidity. Ninety five per cent of all high schools in America support football teams. Baseball is about as common. Basket ball is as common in the east and is rapidly becoming so in the west. No game affords better opportunity for the display and development of manly power as does football. By manly power I mean the direct and obvious qualities such as those referred to by Professor Armstrong, already quoted, that is, the ability to punch another boy's head or to stand having his own punched in a healthy and proper manner. It is directly against, not merely the observations of those who are professionally related to physical training, but also the whole consensus of public opinion, to believe that these sports, or that football in particular, are becoming progressively ladylike. Some of us are very much more inclined to agree with President Eliot in his trenchant criticisms as to the brutality of the game as frequently played. It is true that in the teams from these sec-

ondary schools and colleges to which I have referred only a small percentage of the students are to be found. The spirit of the team, however, is something that reflects the whole spirit of the school.

If we turn now to the activeness of boys outside of school we find similar facts. Jacob Riis has said that he regarded the greatest peril of the modern city to be the street gang, composed of boys in the first instance, and later on of men, who unite their activities frequently for lawless, political and other purposes, but with great loyalty to each other, with bravery and great force. It is no answer to say that these are evil; they do show masculine qualities, even though we admit, or affirm, that they are masculine qualities showing themselves in a bad way. Crimes of violence are increasingly performed by boys in their teens. The records of our police and children's courts do not indicate that city boys lack in aggressive qualities.

In view of all these facts, it is not uninteresting to attempt to account, at least partially, for the unanimity of the judgment pronounced against us by the distinguished members of the Mosely commission. I do not think it possible to believe that the inevitable prejudices in favor of that which obtains in one's own land should have been completely laid aside by the gentlemen visiting our institutions, which differ in such marked respects from those with which they are most familiar. It seems to me that there are earnest and honest endeavors to regard our work with not merely dispassionate, but even favorable eyes. They were endeavoring to discover that which might be carried back to England of a useful and constructive nature. Still, such prejudice must be reckoned with, that is, suggested as an introductory fact.

The chief reason seems to be a somewhat different mode for the expression of manliness in this country from that which obtains in England, so that, looking for it where they were accustomed to see it, it was not so evident here as there. To be specific, athletic sports are an integral part of British life and of English schools in quite a different way from what they are here. A person may here come into relation with all of the official activities of one of our great city high schools

without coming at all into relation with the ways in which student initiative is chiefly exhibited. The great bulk of our athletic sports are not administered by the school authorities, but are outside of them and too frequently independent. The vast congestion of such a city as New York imposes conditions upon school life that emphasize certain qualities to a degree to which they have never before been emphasized.

To give an extreme case—there is a single school in New York city, having under its roof 5,000 pupils. The conditions which would permit the boys of the school to punch each other's heads in a healthy manner are completely absent here. It is impossible to have a playground, where 5,000 children may play, contiguous to the school. The conduct of such a school must involve discipline and a perfection of order which is quite unnecessary and would be injurious in a small school. The mere fact of the enormous mass has altered the emphasis on social quality. What is true of the school is true of the whole city and all of our cities. The greater the mass, the more it is necessary to minimize those elements that make for social friction. If each boy in a school of 5,000 should occasionally punch somebody's head, put tacks on the seat, throw spitballs and perform those other activities of a similar nature, by which the average country schoolboy used to assert and develop his individuality, the whole school would be thrown into hopeless disorder.

The necessity for perfect discipline and the almost complete obliteration of individual differences, so far as the routine of the school is concerned, is well illustrated by what happens in case of a fire. Recently, in one of the great downtown East Side schools, during the session, the fire alarm was given. It was manifestly a real call and not a drill, for the children were ordered into the street by bells which did not permit of their securing their wraps, although the weather was bad. Each class had its definite order to take; the lines formed so close that it was necessary for every individual to be in step. A single boy being out of step has been known to throw a number of pupils not only out of step, but to trip and so to throw them off their feet when going down stairs rapidly.

The rooms, some of them, became rapidly filled with smoke, but of all the over two thousand children in that building and the fifty teachers, not one screamed or fainted, not a single class started before its time had come, and apparently not a pupil got out of step. Every pupil in the school was on the street in less than two minutes and fifty four seconds. This is not an exceptional case.

During the past few years there have been several fires in schools, any one of which might have resulted in the worst kind of panic and disaster, except for the presence of perfect discipline and self control on the part of principal, teachers (most of them were feminine) and pupils.

This merely illustrates in a dramatic way the necessities of a big system. Obedience and orderliness are fundamental. These are usually denominated as feminine qualities; hence, those who only see the schools when operating as such fail to see the opportunities for, or the exhibition of, the qualities of individual manliness, self reliance and aggressiveness, which are none the less present. If the members of the Mosely commission had only examined with more care the athletic sports and other activities where the exhibition of manliness of the type to which they refer is both feasible and desirable, I am confident that a different judgment would have been rendered.

In the discussion of this subject confusion has frequently arisen because of a failure to agree as to just what is meant by effeminacy itself. Some persons mean that the individual lacks in those qualities that are supposed to be distinctively masculine, particularly bravery, originality and power of individual initiative. Other people understand by effeminacy the acquirement by the individual of the traits that are distinctly feminine, in their origin at least, such as modesty, obedience and patience. To a casual observer there might not appear to be a great difference between these two conditions. A visitor to a school who saw the boys only in the school hours might see only that the boys were orderly, obedient and patient, and he might thereby conclude that they lacked bravery, originality and initiative, whereas the facts might be exactly the reverse. I believe that I have described

the case of exactly that of our English friends. They have discovered that our boys are acquiring these feminine characteristics, and they therefore conclude that they have not already acquired the distinctively masculine characteristic, because they fail to look at the boys at a time and under conditions where the display of the distinctively masculine characteristics was most feasible and desirable.

This process deserves a still larger interpretation than has as yet been given to it. The very process of civilization itself consists, to a considerable extent, in taming the male. Men must learn to work together; to be patient and virtuous before the co-operative life of civilization is possible. It has taken ages sufficiently to tame the savage warrior so he will become the peaceful worker of modern life. He still breaks the laws of the community far more than does the woman. Thus I am profoundly of the conviction that the American boy and that the American man is steadily becoming more civilized, or effeminized; that he is acquiring the characteristics which have been especially known in connection with women, and the facts do not indicate that this acquirement of what must be for him the secondary virtues has militated against the maintenance of the superb primary virtues of manhood, of independence, resolution, aggressiveness, bravery, individuality and capacity for heroism.

## INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING IN POPULAR EDUCATION.

BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT.

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I shall confine myself to a discussion rather of the industrial training and its part in popular education than to a consideration of the higher forms of technical training. And this for several reasons. First of all, technical training, as we use the word in America, has come to refer to the training of men and women in the higher applications of science. It seeks to equip the officers of the industrial army. This part of the problem of education has for forty years past received a constantly increasing share of our attention, with the result that the number of technical schools and universities in which the higher technical training is given has grown enormously. And whatever may be the merits or faults of our present education, and how far it may be assumed that its present stage is one of transition, it must at least be admitted that the needs of the higher technical training are receiving more attention than almost any other part of our educational processes. In every state in the union there exist schools for this training for the higher industrial life—the life of the engineer, of the chemist, of the manager, of the man who in one way or another is to act as a leader in the industrial army. But, after all, the number of leaders who are needed is limited; and it is worth while asking what is being done in America, and what can be done, for training the sergeants and corporals and privates of the industrial army, the superintendents and foremen and skilled workmen who man our mines and mills, who build our roads and bridges, who make and transport our manufactured products.



There are in this country at present, approximately, 80,000,000 persons. Of this number, approximately twenty per cent, 16,000,000 in all, are between the ages of fifteen and twenty four—are eligible, in other words, to the opportunities of the high school and the college. Of this vast number of eligibles less than one third of one per cent are receiving any formal instruction from the state or from private institutions concerning the sciences and arts which bear directly upon their occupations. It is at least worth asking whether our plan of popular education can be made to minister to this vast host which does not now share in its advantages beyond the elementary school.

In order that I may make myself clear, let me ask a moment's consideration of the wording of my subject and the conception of education which it implies. I am writing of the place of industrial training in popular education. This language is assumed to apply to the United States, and that the people who are to be educated are those of this country. It assumes, further, that there is to be a popular education, or an education of the people.

Assuming all this, our inquiry concerns itself with the part in this education of the people which industrial and technical training should have, and I have limited the inquiry by confining the discussion to elementary technical training alone.

The subject assumes, furthermore, that there is a distinction between education and training, and that the latter is a factor in the former. The derivation of the word education carries a meaning not always remembered—to be educated is to be drawn out. Education embraces all the processes by which a human soul comes to have contact in larger and larger measure with all other souls. It is the resultant of all the forces by virtue of whose influence a human being finds his place in the world. The education is successful when the individual finds for himself the best place of which he is capable.

Human souls have various moduli of elasticity. Some are capable of being drawn out in many directions, and attach themselves by the threads of sympathy and interest to every object that offers. Sometimes these tentacles are very foolish ventures, like the thread which a spider spins from his web to

the nearest object and directly across the path of the passerby, only to be swept away. And then there are souls of such curious elasticity that they can be stretched out or educated only in one direction, so that ultimately they become hard, tense cords in the general structure of society, and can only be touched by some vibration which is adapted to their particular stress. However it is done, or whether it be in large or in small measure, education is that drawing out process of the human soul by which a man finds his place in the world.

But the difficulty which has beset all serious inquirers is the question what to teach in order to educate. Plato and Aristotle, Milton and Rousseau, Spencer and Bain all agree as to what education is, but the burning question is how to educate; how to draw out the soul of a man so that it may find its most efficient contact with the world in which he is to live.

Men have agreed by one process or another that one of the most effective ways of stimulating the powers of youth is to bring them together in a school and to teach them certain things which are believed to assist in the development of the latent powers of the individual.

It is so much easier to point out the faults of a system of teaching than to indicate the means for correcting these faults that there has never been agreement among schoolmasters as to the subjects which might be taught in the schools, in order to develop the qualities of a student. Men ask to-day as anxiously as did Aristotle in his day, "What, then, is education, and how are we to educate? For men are not agreed as to what the young should learn, either with a view to perfect training or to the best life."

Furthermore, into most human lives there is thrust the problem of earning a living. So fierce is human struggle at this age that the earning of a livelihood, if the living is to be a comfortable one, requires the possession on the part of the individual of expertness in some one direction. And this education in one or more directions to the point of expertness we call training, and training is admitted to be a part of the proper work of the school.

Now, while in America the schoolmasters have no more been able to agree than their brethren in other parts of the

world, at least two general theories may be traced in the formation of our schools and colleges. One is the theory that the growing human being should have an opportunity to develop in many ways; that the elastic soul should be encouraged to throw out as many tentacles as possible, and that the system of studies which presented the greatest number of points of attachment is the best one. This process is usually called that of acquiring a broad and liberal education.

A second principle, and one that finds almost equal recognition in the institutions of learning of the present day, is the idea that the student must train to the point of expertness in some one direction.

Now in order to meet these somewhat divergent requirements, we have provided in our higher institutions of learning courses of study intended to minister on the one side to general culture and on the other to special training; and we undertake to furnish instruction which shall give the student a broader outlook and a wider sympathy, while at the same time he is guided into the strait and narrow path of professional expertness.

The working out of these two theories during the past generation has resulted in the development of two kinds of institutions, one of which affords the student a greater or smaller opportunity for education with little or no training, and another, which gives him a more or less effective training with little or no education.

Unfortunately, notwithstanding two thousand years of discussion, no criterion has been invented by whose application it may be determined if a man be entitled to be called an educated man. It is rather by the absence of certain qualifications than by their possession that this test can be applied. Perhaps it would be generally admitted that no man may be fairly termed an educated man until he can read and write his mother tongue with ease and facility, nor until he has some acquaintance with, and has developed some taste for, the best literature of his own country. Judged by even so modest a standard, it seems probable that a large proportion of the graduates of our colleges and scientific schools of to-day are not educated men. One finds amongst these grad-

uates a large number to whom the colleges have brought education without training, and a large number to whom has been brought training without education. The two do not always go together. Charles Sumner was a better trained man than Abraham Lincoln. He was not so well educated.

This problem is a vital one before American colleges to-day. How to combine education with training; how to make a human soul alive to literature, to art, to science, to nature, to religion, to human kinship—and yet at the same time to point out clearly that narrow path which leads to efficiency and economic success. And yet this ought to be possible. A narrow road may have, after all, the widest horizon if only it leads over the heights.

All this is in one sense apart from the subject under consideration, but it has this relevancy: That so far as our discussion of education in this country has crystallized into practice during the past generation it recognizes that education of the people should minister, in the higher institutions of learning, both to the expanding of the student's horizon and to his special training as well; that in the age in which we live the university should train as well as educate. If this principle is true for those who enter college it is true in a still larger sense, then, for those who, while carrying on the struggle for existence, are at the same time striving for a wider outlook and a higher efficiency.

The practical question which actually confronts us is this. There are 16,000,000 persons in the United States between the ages of fifteen and twenty four. About 4,000,000 of these are in high schools and colleges. For 12,000,000 the opportunity of the regular day school has gone by. Can a rational and feasible plan be advised by which this large majority of the youth of our country may have opportunity to better themselves by further education, and to increase their efficiency by effective training, given in schools such as they can find time to attend?

Let me answer this question, not by indicating an ideal solution, but by briefly describing the way in which the question has been answered in another city, in another land.

Some years ago the city of Berlin undertook the solution of this same question. The consideration of the problem was placed in the hands of earnest and thoughtful men. The result of their labors has led to the establishment of a system of secondary technical schools whose character and function I shall endeavor briefly to describe.

In examining the plans for industrial education in Berlin one needs to remember that the system of regular day schools in all German cities includes not only the gymnasium which leads to the university, and the realschule which leads to the higher technical schools—corresponding approximately to our high schools and to our manual training schools—but it includes as well a system of secondary schools intended for those who are to follow a particular trade or craft. These secondary technical schools are usually adapted to the branch of technical education needed in the particular district in which it is situated; where yarns are spun, a spinning school; in the midst of ironworks, a school of elementary metallurgy. The instruction, while elementary, is thorough on both the practical and theoretical side, and all the questions involving the success and progress of the special industry are investigated and explained. These schools are neither high grade engineering schools like the Institute of Technology, nor are they simply trade schools like the New York Trade school. Germany has her great technical schools for the higher engineering, and she has trade schools as well, although these latter seldom confine themselves to simple instruction in the trades they represent; but she aims also in these secondary technical schools to meet the wants of those who are to go into commerce or into a trade; to present the opportunity for education, while giving at the same time such minute training as may minister most directly to the calling in life which the pupil is to follow. All these are schools conducted in the ordinary schoolhouses, and in the usual school hours.

But the city of Berlin does not stop here. With characteristic German thoroughness a system of commercial and industrial education has been planned for those who, while earning a livelihood, are ambitious for further improvement. The system in use is so fully and rationally developed that it

deserves a more extended description than I can give here.

Those schools are free, except in a few cases where small fees are charged, and are held in the evenings and on Sundays, from nine to twelve. They may be divided into two classes: (1) continuation schools (Fortbildungsschule), (2) monotechnic or trade schools (Fachschulen). It would not be fair to call the first class non-trade schools, as they all have a directly practical aim in reference to the student's occupation, either in commercial life or in the trades. The most obvious distinction between these and the second class, or trade schools, is seen in the teaching of German, English, and French in the former and their omission in the latter. Technical detail is also carried out very much further in the latter. Drawing is almost universally taught, except in a small number of commercial schools. The importance assigned to this subject is characteristic of the German system at large.

It is a general condition for entering both classes of schools that the pupil shall have completed the common school course (the Volksschule), which is supposed to be finished at fourteen, the last year of obligatory attendance. In certain of the special trade schools, as will be mentioned later, it is required that they shall be actual workmen, apprentices, members of trade or in training for the countinghouse.

The first class of schools mentioned (the Fortbildungsschule, or city continuation schools) are conducted in four groups. One group is devoted to the evening commercial schools. These are intended for persons in practical occupations who are desirous of re-enforcing their acquirements. The subjects taught are German, French, English, mercantile arithmetic, bookkeeping, drawing, mathematics, physics, stenography, and typewriting. Four such schools are maintained, each forming an annex to some high grade institution (either a realschule or gymnasium) by whose director it is governed. The second group of continuation schools maintained by the city of Berlin are intended to offer to those in a practical calling such advanced studies as may aid in their calling and strengthen their morals. They aim also to make good deficiencies in elementary training. They are all ad-

juncts of the common schools, using certain rooms in the school buildings, governed by the same principals, and paying their proportionate cost of the school material which is used. The purpose of the girls' school is stated somewhat differently: "to improve their general education, to supply mental stimulus for fixing serious views of life; to cherish the inclination and the skill for suitable woman's work." Exclusive attention to technical subjects must be avoided. Both girls and boys are taught German, French, English, arithmetic, drawing (very fully), bookkeeping, stenography and typewriting, and to some extent history, geography, and commerce. The boys have certain additional advantages in mathematics, elementary chemistry and physics, and law, together with special advantages in the drawing courses for the trades of lithographer, engraver, decorator, upholsterer, etc. The girls learn needlework, embroidery, machine work, millinery, and commercial correspondence. Singing and gymnastics are taught in nearly all the schools.

A third group of continuation schools are the mercantile schools. The fourth class of continuation schools are devoted to the teaching of the blind and deaf.

The second division of evening schools are those which minister directly to the special trades, and which are in fact monotecnical schools. The universal aim in these schools is to make up for the loss of formative power in shops due to changed customs and wages, and especially to progressive subdivision of labor. The schools are so varied in character that only the briefest mention can be made of them. Amongst those supported by the city are the city textile school (which is used for one set of pupils during the day and another at night) intended for merchants, journeymen, apprentices, and embroiderers; two artisan schools supported by the city with some help from the state, with courses in cabinetmaking, painting, modeling, and art work in metal; the school of architecture, having for its purpose the training of workmen and master builders; the City Trades Hall, a school for those engaged in the trades of locksmith, instrument maker, machine builder, electro-mechanician, and allied branches; the school of joinery, intended to give thorough training to joiners and

turners in drawing, modeling, wood carving, jointing, chemical treatment of wood, etc., and finally some 21 special trade schools whose support comes from various sources, but chiefly from the city. The state adds a small quota, and two are supported by the guilds themselves.

The object of these schools is to supply instruction in the trades which cannot be given in the shops. The persons for whom they are intended are primarily apprentices and journeymen. In many trades the apprentices are required to attend. The schools minister to a wide diversity of trades workers, such as masons, carpenters, shoemakers, painters, barbers, saddlers and harness makers, decorators, smiths of all kinds, glaziers, wheelwrights, bookbinders, basket makers, gardeners, printers, tailors, confectioners, photographers, braziers, and coopers. The variety of interests and occupations represented in these schools is most striking, and the dissimilarity in their constitution and government indicates that much has been left to individual initiative.

A noticeable feature of the whole system is the friendly relation existing between the workmen's guilds and the city schools. The officers of the guilds take a helpful part in the government of the schools, and it is in large measure due to their influence that so many apprentices attend them.

So complete is the provision here made for the encouragement of the ambitious youth that any apprentice or any workman may find in these schools the opportunity he seeks, whether it lie in the direction of wider education or in the desire to improve himself in the technique of his trade.

Let us examine for a moment the opportunities open to a youth of Boston similarly circumstanced. Suppose a boy or a girl, a man or a woman, to have completed the grammar school course and to have begun the earning of a living in some commercial or industrial calling in Boston, as clerk, apprentice, or journeyman; what opportunities are open to such an one for further education and for further training?

The two agencies which the city provides for the education of young wage earners are represented by the evening high school and the free evening drawing schools; the two, taken together, representing a very near approximation to the first



group of Berlin continuation schools. In the evening high school a student is offered instruction in arithmetic, algebra (a two years' course), geometry, English (a three years' course), French, German, and Latin, chemistry and physics, bookkeeping, stenography and typewriting; and, in the drawing schools, freehand and mechanical drawing, clay modeling, and the principles of design, composition, and color. They serve the same class of pupils as attend the first and second groups of Berlin continuation schools just described, and in the main they represent a general similarity of subjects taught. The chief difference between the two lies partly in the conception of what ought to be taught and partly in the manner of teaching.

In the Berlin schools the German language and literature are relied upon as the surest and most fruitful source of culture. They are helped out by elementary mathematics and physics, taught, however, rather as an aid to the solution of practical problems in everyday life. In our Boston school the student is offered more mathematics, more chemistry and physics, and Latin in addition. Both schools aim to strengthen the intellectual grasp, while at the same time they aim to help toward good morals. The one undertakes to do this by devoting the larger number of hours to subjects which have a direct bearing on practical life, the other by devoting the larger number of hours to subjects which are in the nature of culture studies.

When one seeks, however, in the public evening schools of Boston any which correspond to those of the second division of Berlin evening schools he seeks in vain—they do not exist. There are no city schools in Boston corresponding to the mono-technic schools of Berlin. Our system of public instruction does not undertake to furnish to the apprentice, or to the clerk, or to the journeyman, by formal instruction, the opportunity for improvement in his own craft. The ambitious youth in Boston who seeks such improvement finds open to him the following openings for such training:

If he be an apprentice, he may avail himself of such opportunities as the apprentice system offers for improvement in his trade. But it is becoming more and more difficult for the apprentice to obtain from this relationship the training which

came from it a generation ago. Not only is the association between master and apprentice no longer what it once was, but the changed functions of modern machinery make smaller the opportunities for getting what the Germans call formative power.

Outside of his employer's office the young workmen may turn to one of the following avenues of improvement. In the schools of the Y. M. C. A. and the Young Men's Christian union he may obtain certain training bearing upon the work of a trade or a craft. The instruction given by both of these institutions in drawing, modeling, and kindred subjects is most creditable to those who have charge of these noble organizations.

Somehow the German plan of using a technical equipment—for instance, that of a manual training school—to its full capacity by instructing one class of pupils in the day and another in the evening is not one which has as yet commended itself to our American teachers; and it must be admitted that the teaching of the use of hand tools in this country, while it undoubtedly offers a valuable addition to the school curriculum, makes this contribution on the academic side. Instruction in manual training forms in this country practically a culture study; it contributes almost nothing to the betterment of those in trades. Granting much that has been claimed for manual training, it seems nevertheless true that, in this country at least, it has done almost nothing to bridge over the difficulties which lie between the untrained apprentice and the skilled artisan. This has been due in some measure, it seems to me, to the great fear which its advocates have had lest it minister to utilitarian ends, and to their intense desire to have it rank first of all in dignity with older studies. Their attitude reminds one, in some measure, of the toast offered by a senior wrangler, when he said: "Here's to pure mathematics, and may it never be of any use to anybody!"

But the ambitious young man or woman in Boston who is earning a living, and who is willing to struggle for the increased power and pleasure which come from technical knowledge of one's own calling, has not exhausted his opportunities in the night schools maintained by the city and by private thought-

fulness. There has grown up another agency which is within reach of the man who has to make a living, if he can afford it, and this is found in correspondence instruction given by correspondence schools.

Few college men, I am inclined to believe, are aware of the amount of instruction now being given by these agencies, notwithstanding the fact that some of our universities have, in part at least, committed themselves to a plan for giving instruction in this manner. The number enrolled in correspondence schools at the present time exceeds considerably the total enrollment of all the colleges and technical schools of the United States. While many of those enrolled are studying commercial or English branches, the large majority are endeavoring to obtain in this way technical instruction of an elementary sort. These schools now offer to decorators, to draughtsmen, and to designers instruction in the arts which bear upon their work; to machinists, patternmakers, foundry men, blacksmiths, plumbers, sheet metal workers, miners, carpenters, etc., instruction in their trades; to stationary engineers, locomotive engineers, trainmen, dynamo tenders, linemen, and motormen instruction in the care and operation of machinery, as well as technical instruction to those who desire to become civil engineers, mechanical engineers, architects, and chemists.

It is no part of my purpose to discuss here the quality of the work accomplished by these correspondence schools, or to deal with the question of correspondence instruction; but the enormous proportions to which this enrollment has grown is indicative of two very significant facts. The first is this: in all industries the demand is becoming urgent for men and women who have had sufficient training in applied science to grasp the plans of the engineer above them, and who have the practical knowledge to carry them into execution. The second fact to which I refer is the spectacle itself, of this large number of men and women in the correspondence schools, paying out money earned in many cases with difficulty, and saved only after self denial, in order to acquire the scientific knowledge necessary to understand the tools with which they are working, and to make the most of these tools. The growth of correspondence

schools, whose students are drawn wholly from those who are denied a college training, is the most striking evidence which could be presented, not only of the need which such men feel for additional training, but of their determination to obtain it.

It is not necessary to give the complete enrollment of the army of students in the correspondence schools to indicate something of the desire for instruction. In Massachusetts itself more men and women are seeking technical training in correspondence schools than in all other technical schools, public and private, combined! There is to me a touch of pathos in the thought that the efforts of American men and women for a better training have become the foundation of a profitable business.

This completes the enumeration of the avenues open to the wage earner of Boston who, leaving school at the end of the grammar school period, seeks later on to better himself by a wider education and a more effective training. For the one he may go to the city evening schools; for the other he may try apprenticeship, the schools maintained by private enterprise, or the correspondence school maintained by its own enterprise.

When we compare with these the opportunities offered to the youth who begins his industrial or commercial career in Berlin the contrast is most striking, and the significant feature of the contrast is the fact that the one city presents a system of public education founded upon no effort to study the conditions which are to be met and to meet them, while in the other there is presented a plan which is at least consistent, which rests upon an intelligent study of the whole question of education of the people, and which aims to meet in a rational way the varying wants of all classes.

I have thought it worth while to spend so much time in a comparison of educational opportunities in two specially chosen cities, not for the purpose of suggesting that we in Boston should blindly follow what has been done in Berlin, but rather for other reasons which I will endeavor to state briefly.

First of all, I desired that the discussion should not be wasted, and that it should lead somewhere. It has for this reason seemed to me wiser to point to a definite effort to meet


the conditions of modern life by education and training than to talk of abstractions. It is never a waste of time to call attention to the fact that all truth and all wisdom are not confined to one nation, or to one sect, or to one party. The nations of Europe have been trying social experiments longer than we. I believe we may safely learn something from their experience, if we approach the problem in the right spirit.

The study of the Berlin experiments are especially worth our study because those who have there had the matter in hand have endeavored to struggle, not with a partial solution of the problem of education and training, but with the problem as a whole; and in doing this they recognized fully the two ideas which have been most dominant in American educational processes for the past generation, namely, that the teaching of the schools must aim, not only to educate, but to train; and the converse, that it is not enough simply to train in the school, but that the school should educate as well. Not only have they recognized these two needs, but, keeping both in mind, they have not hesitated to grapple with the fact that different groups of students enter the preparatory schools with widely varying purposes in view, and that these purposes must be kept in view in the education of these boys and girls. They have taken the view that, if the truths and processes of modern science and of art were helpful to the leaders in the industrial world, they could be no less helpful, if taught in the right way, to those in the ranks. Admitting all these facts, they have gone on to offer to the youth of their city a system of schools planned in a consistent and intelligent way to meet, not the wants of a single class or of a single trade, not a hard and fast system, but a system at once comprehensive, elastic, and representative of the whole people. And whether the solution which Berlin has reached be a wise one or not, whether it accomplishes the entire end for which it is aimed or not, it is at least worthy our study as being an intelligent, a comprehensive, and a systematic effort to do that which in Boston we are doing in a desultory and a partial way.

The study of the Berlin system of industrial technical schools conducted for wage earners has for us another point of still greater significance, which is found in the attitude of

organized labor toward these schools. The Berlin industrial schools are being conducted with the co-operation and with the help of the artisans themselves, and of the trades unions into which they are organized. There has been an impression that in this country the trades unions are hostile to industrial schools. I do not know how much truth there is in such an assertion. Organized labor in America has sometimes been unfortunate in its leaders and has been thereby betrayed into some foolish and shortsighted actions. For myself, I have faith in the sincerity and in the ultimate fairness of the real American workman, whether born on this side of the Atlantic or the other. I believe that he will not be slow to see that industrial schools are to mean to him the quickest road to power and to independence which organized society has yet offered to him. But whether this be true or not, it is certainly true that the first step to success in such an undertaking is the co-operation and interest of workingmen themselves, and of the organizations through which they express themselves. Men are never reformed from without, or against their wills. By the same token they do not permit themselves to be educated from without or against their wills; and the first and wisest step in any system of industrial education is to enlist the interest and the confidence of those who are to be educated.

The reasons put forward by the advocates of a system of industrial schools for this country are usually based upon utilitarian considerations. They point to the example of Germany and urge that her industrial success has been due in large measure to her system of education, and that success rests, not only upon the officers of her industrial army drawn from the high grade technical schools, but upon the rank and file trained in the industrial schools as well. Without similar training, they say, we are likely to fall behind in the race for industrial supremacy. I believe there is much truth in these claims and that they alone form a sufficient reason for a careful consideration of elementary technical training as a part of our system of popular education. There are other reasons, however, that to my mind appeal more strongly than any consideration of dollars and cents, even when that glittering



prize, industrial world supremacy, is held out as the trophy of success.

One reason, and a primary one, for the establishment of schools for commercial and industrial training as a part of a system of popular education is the fact that a system of popular education should in reality be what it calls itself, namely, a system of education for the people and for the whole people. As our schools are at present maintained, the people as a whole share in them only up to a certain point; and, while it is true that the opportunity to continue in the high schools is open to every citizen, it is in fact closed by stress of circumstances over which pupils themselves have but little control. The average schooling for the entire nation is at present 860 days for each person. This would give four years and three tenths, allowing 200 days to each school year, enough to take a pupil through the primary schools of a city. Even Massachusetts, with all its schools public and private, does not give enough schooling to amount to seven years apiece for its inhabitants. Some states of the union give only a little more than two years on the average. It is worth noting in this direction that Massachusetts, with nearly twice the average schooling per individual, produces twice the amount of wealth per individual as compared with the nation's average.

I have always been at some loss to account for the fact that eighty per cent of all children are withdrawn from school upon the completion of the preparatory school course, even in well to do communities. It is due, not wholly to poverty and to the need for the services of the boy or girl, but also to the feeling of the parents that the schooling to be acquired by longer stay is of no practical benefit in the trade or in the commercial career which the pupil is to attempt. Many of the pupils withdrawn realize in a very short time the need of a better education and a higher training, and, to my thinking, it is most desirable that some door, easily accessible, be left open to that great majority of our youth outside the schools, by which they may find the education which may minister to breadth of view and the training which may help toward efficiency. Such an opportunity means, not only a great increase in skill and in power for a large part of our popula-

tion, but it means as well an enormous influence which shall work for a higher form of manhood and of womanhood.

Further, the introduction of industrial and commercial preparatory schools into our educational scheme will serve, not only as a partial corrective to certain tendencies which now tempt boys and girls away from the lines in which they might be most useful, but by putting forward the opportunities for a better form of commercial and industrial training will help to maintain the dignity of labor itself.

The following abstract from the report of a well known officer of the navy, engaged in recruiting apprentices for the navy, is suggestive of certain tendencies in our education in New England which need to be taken into account in any study of a present and possible system of public instruction:

"I enlisted boys from all parts of the country and necessarily saw the conditions surrounding the poorer classes in many cities. After one trip to Boston, where I enlisted several hundred boys, I was satisfied that education or rather over education, was doing great harm in New England. Book schools were not doing what industrial schools would have accomplished. Each morning, when I went to my office at the navy yard gate, I found a long line of fairly well dressed boys with very shabbily dressed parents. In every case the boy had spent his life in school, winding up in many cases in the high school, and after that finding nothing to do. The parents were striving hard and stinting themselves that the boys might appear well, while the lads were growing up more and more ashamed of themselves and of their surroundings, and of their honest fathers and mothers. To save them from poolrooms and worse they begged me to take them as apprentices in the navy and let them begin anew their education."

Inasmuch as the large majority of all who enter the common schools have eventually to earn their bread by some form of labor, whether it be on the farm or in commerce or in the arts and crafts, it is worth the while to have such recognition of this fact in at least some of the schools as will make a boy or girl proud to prepare himself or herself for such a life. We have grown too much accustomed in our schools and in our colleges to hold out the extraordinary rewards of college edu-



cation or of technical training as a reason for education and for training. The room at the top motto has been overworked. To urge upon young men the advantages of college education and of college training, because this engineer or that chemist has achieved extraordinary financial or popular success, is in some ways similar to inviting them to invest in a lottery. Schools and colleges exist, not for the preparation of the few great successes, but because we believe that the education for which they stand is a preparation for a wiser and more useful and more contented life. It is equally desirable that the state should say to a still larger class of citizens that in the pursuits of commerce and industry they may find a life which satisfies the intellectual and artistic and moral aspirations of men; to commend to them the life of industrial and commercial effort for its own sake.

And finally, such schools seem to me most desirable in a democratic government as a means of holding together by a common thread of interest the whole body of citizens. It will be a bad day for our institutions when those who work with their hands come to feel that they have any smaller interest in our common schools than have any other class of citizens. Men have seen, during the last generation, the conserving influences in society weakened at many points. Two generations ago master and apprentice met on a common plane at the meeting house. To-day it is a far cry from the man who sits in a pew to the man who tends the dynamo supplying the light by which the minister reads his sermon. In the problems that face us in the future it is most necessary that distinctions of class be not further accentuated. There is no surer way to promote the desired solidarity than by a system of education in which those who direct the education are kept in touch with the great body of citizens. There is no common thread of interest running through the whole fabric of our political life better calculated to exert a unifying touch upon all classes of citizens than that which has to do with public education. For this reason, if for no other, it is vital that education in a republic minister to the whole people and that it consider in its ministry the needs of those whom it is to serve.

And now one naturally asks, what is the practical change which should be made in order to make our public school system minister to the wants of all the people? What schools can be added to those already maintained which shall serve the double purpose of education and training? How should they be organized, by whom controlled, and how maintained in order to serve in the widest sense the whole people?

First of all, it seems to me that if one suddenly found in his hands the arbitrary power to make changes in our system of popular instruction he would neither add to it new features nor take from it old ones for the present; that, looking back over the evolution of our present schemes of education (we can scarcely call them a system), he would recognize that these educational processes are still in a transition stage. Following the civil war, a mighty desire for education came upon us. For a time we believed that all education was good, and the more of it the better. Every institution in the land strained to the utmost to teach every subject—a theory which found its perfect fruit in the idea that every institution must teach every subject to every student. All the doctors in education have been allopaths.

After a while we discovered that this was all wrong, and a new set of doctors came in who believed in educational specifics. The number of special studies and methods of training which have been put forward in the last twenty years, warranted to be infallible educators for man and beast, would almost equal the number of patent medicines. The experience of our schools is painfully like that of a gentle Oriental nation which undertook to found a university. Those who had in their hands the appointment of professors had a theory that any American or any Englishman could teach any subject. Accordingly a faculty was selected at the nearest seaport from amongst the butchers and sailors. The results were interesting, but hardly satisfactory. There were periods when the entire faculty was disabled for days as the result of prolonged investigation of the physical qualities of spiritus frumenti. Gradually the officials in charge of the university arrived at the generalization that not all foreigners could teach. The sailors were accordingly sent about their business and a faculty

selected who were all missionaries. The result was an enormous improvement, but still not all that was hoped for. Modern dynamos and problems in recent chemical processes were troublesome to men educated in Latin and Greek and theology. After five years more that pleasing Oriental government made another generalization, and it was one worth acquiring even at the price paid, and this was the decision that it was not only true that all foreigners could not teach all subjects, but that, if a given subject was to be effectively taught, a teacher must be secured who had fitted himself to teach that particular subject.

It seems to me that we have arrived at a point in our experiments in popular education when certain generalizations are possible. Some of them would seem to be the following:

One school cannot teach every subject, still less can it teach every subject to every student.

There is such a thing as too much teaching, and there is such a thing as teaching too much.

There are no specifics in education. No subject and no special method of presenting that subject, and no particular process of training, can be warranted to make an educated man out of an uneducated boy, or a trained man out of an untrained boy.

On the other hand, the outcome of our universal human experience goes to show that no man may any longer call any branch of human knowledge common or unclean, or the teaching of it without value to some soul, if one only knew when and how and to whom to teach it.

And, having accepted these generalizations, it would seem to follow that the things to be taught a given class of students will depend, to a degree at least, on the environment and the life purpose of the students. And so, after all, one comes back to the thought that since the life in school or in college is not an isolated one, but a part of the life of the world, the teaching in it should have relation to the life in the world. But the question what teaching shall minister to a particular class of lives is, after all, a question of individual human judgment. And having come thus far, I am inclined to feel that I would follow the example of my Oriental friends and ask the assist-

ance of those whose judgment seems on the whole the best worth following. And from this standpoint the question of adding to our present public school system that which shall minister to industrial training becomes simply a part of the larger and more important question, what ought that system to be and how ought it to be conducted?

In a very real sense we are struggling with this question in every American city to-day. We struggle with it perennially in Boston whenever we undertake to elect a school committee. No one who has at heart the true interest of the city can fail to understand the need for the election of capable and honest men to the body which controls and which conducts our schools. And yet, after all, this is only at best the first step in the problem. The school committee itself is a part of a system which was effective a hundred years ago, but long since obsolete. At some time or other, and in some way or other, we shall need to undertake the serious consideration of what the school shall endeavor to do in the education and in the training of the whole people, and for the solution of this question we shall need to summon to our aid, not only those who are intellectually able and intellectually sincere, but those who represent, as well, the convictions and the aspirations of our entire citizenship.

By some such intelligent effort as this, and only in some such way, shall we finally come to a solution of what ought to be taught in a system of popular education; and only by such means shall we arrive at a solution which is consistent, rational, and democratic, and which shall embody in it with a fair perspective that which aims toward a wider culture of the soul, and that which aims toward economic efficiency. In any system so devised by thoughtful and representative men, industrial and technical schools, adapted to the needs of those they are to serve, will assuredly find a place.

## THE AMERICAN COLLEGE.

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

[Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia university; born April 2, 1862, at Elizabeth, New Jersey; was graduated from Columbia university in 1882 and studied in Berlin and Paris in 1884-5; in 1885 he became assistant in the department of philosophy at Columbia; in 1886, tutor; in 1889, adjunct professor in the same department; in 1890, dean of the faculty of philosophy and professor of philosophy; he was the founder and for five years the president of the Teachers' college of New York; 1887-95, was a member of the New Jersey State Board of Education and in 1889, special commissioner from New Jersey to the Paris exposition; in 1895 he was made president and life director of the National Educational association; in 1902, president of Columbia, and in 1904, chairman of the administrative board of the International Congress of Arts and Science at the Louisiana Purchase exposition; he is editor of the Educational Review, the Great Educators Series, Teachers' Professional Library, Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy and Education and co-editor of the Internationale Pädagogische Bibliothek. He is the author of The Meaning of Education and other books.]

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 1820 the American college, as the term is traditionally used and popularly understood, came into existence. Before 1820 it would be difficult to distinguish the college, except perhaps in two or three instances, from the secondary school of familiar form to-day, the high school or academy. This college uniformly (so far as I know) gave a four years' course of instruction in prescribed studies. The students came at the age of fifteen or sixteen and were graduated at nineteen or twenty. They were disciplined carefully in a narrow intellectual field, and it did most of them great good. They were obliged to do many things they did not like in ways not of their own choosing, and they gained in strength and fiber of character thereby. Ambitious boys who looked forward to law or theology, and often to medicine too, as a professional career, sought the college training and college association as a basis and groundwork for their studies and their active careers. For the most part they acquitted themselves well, and the sort of training that the college gave commended itself to the intelligent people of the country.

The nation was young and crude in those days, and it was pushing far out into new and unbroken territory. It had rivers to bridge, forests to hew, fields to clear and to sow,

homes to build, states to found. That was a noble era of creative industry. Life was often hard and luxuries were few. Yet the college went wherever the population broke a way for it. Eleven colleges were founded before the revolution, and 12 between 1783 and 1800; no fewer than 33 came into existence during the thirty years that followed, and 180 between 1830 and the close of the civil war. Many of those founded before 1830 were in the newly broken territory. Two were in western Pennsylvania, 5 in Ohio, 3 in Kentucky, 1 in Tennessee, 1 in Indiana, 3 in Illinois, and 1 in Missouri. These colleges differed from each other in many ways, but they agreed in that they conferred one degree at the conclusion of the course, that of bachelor of arts, for substantially the same kind and amount of work. Postgraduate studies, so called, were almost or quite unknown, and the completion of a college course was the attainment of a liberal education, as the phrase goes. Judged by to-day's rigorous and exacting standards of scholarship, the graduates of these colleges did not know very much. Nevertheless, their minds were carefully trained by devoted teachers, sometimes men of rare genius and human insight, and they loved letters for their own sake. They grew in manhood and came out of the college halls full of ardor in the pursuit of high ideals.

It was this sort of institution which gave the American college its reputation and which put into the degree of A. B. the valued significance which it has now so largely lost. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were the only subjects a knowledge of which was required for entrance to this college. The Latin included grammar, four books of Cæsar's Commentaries, six books of Vergil's *Æneid*, and six orations of Cicero. The Greek included grammar, three books of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and two of Homer's *Iliad*. The mathematics included arithmetic, a portion of plane geometry, and algebra as far as quadratic equations. These subjects the boy mastered in school or academy or by private tuition; everything else that he learned was in the college course. Many of the weaker and less fortunate colleges gave some, or nearly all even, of this instruction themselves.



of their lives, and by close and intimate associations with others having aims similar to their own. No purpose could be more lofty than this, none more practical among a democratic people.

What the old college used to do in four years to this end is now done in part by the new college and in part by the secondary school. Four years are still required to complete the traditional course of study in the liberal arts and sciences, but the whole four years are no longer passed under one institutional roof. Taking Columbia college (which I know best) as a standard, one half of the old college's work, measured in terms both of time and of content, is done by the secondary school and the results are tested by the college admission examination. This change has come about by the general raising of the requirements for admission, both in quantity and in quality, which has gone on at most colleges since 1860. These requirements for admission have been raised because the country has been better served by having the earlier part of the work formerly done in college transferred to the secondary schools. So transferred, this work has been brought within the reach of tens of thousands of boys who could never have left home to get it, and who could never have entered upon a four years' college course for lack or means. Moreover, secondary school teaching nowadays compares very favorably with college teaching. The best secondary schools have scholarly teachers, well finished libraries, and well equipped laboratories that many a college might well envy. Some of the newer subjects are, on the whole, taught better in the high schools than in many colleges.

These are my reasons for believing that the change which has raised the requirements for admission to college is a good one and a permanent one.

While this change has been taking place, the colleges have for the most part drifted. Too few of them have followed clearly conceived and persistently executed policies. Most of them have been simply played upon by forces from without, and these forces have been received with varying degrees of stubbornness. Hence the chaos of standards and of degrees which exists at this moment. Where the requirements for



admission have been raised since 1860 by two years of work and where the course of study in college is still four years long, there is a six years' course in the liberal arts and sciences in the place of the old four years' course. Where the requirements for admission have been raised, and the years spent in college lessened by one, there is a five years' course in the liberal arts and sciences in place of the old four years' course. Where the requirements for admission have been raised and a four years' course in college maintained, one or two years of which are given to professional studies, there is left a four year or a five year course (as the case may be) in the liberal arts and sciences, and the degree of A. B. is no longer given wholly for work in arts, but for work partly in arts and partly in professional studies. In some cases the phrase liberal arts and sciences is interpreted broadly, in some narrowly. Often an attempt is made to distinguish between the older group of college studies and the newer ones, and degrees of bachelor of letters, science, and philosophy have been introduced to mark the completion of the courses other than the traditional one.

Some or all of these changes and developments may be decided improvements upon the the older order of things, but the point I wish to make is that the results are not colleges or college courses as those words were once used. Discussions of the new in terms of the old are futile and misleading unless the terms employed are carefully distinguished and defined. In current discussions and debates about the place and value of the college there is easily noticeable a good deal of unconscious juggling with words and an equally noticeable lack of acquaintance with the facts as they are. It is a perfectly defensible position to hold that even with the raised requirements for admission the college course should still be four years in length, but this position must not be defended by appeals to the old college and its standards. The supporter of this position is not a conservative; he is a radical innovator who holds that a six years' course is now necessary in order to lay the basis for professional studies and to make the preparation for life for which four years formerly sufficed. He must defend his new plan and must prove that it promotes scholarship, strengthens character, and increases the influence and

the usefulness of the college in our democratic society. If he can do these things I, for one, will throw in my lot with him without hesitation. If he cannot prove his case, then I prefer to pursue the old ideal along established lines by methods adapted to our new knowledge and our wider experience.

As I view the facts, the traditional American college is disappearing before our eyes, and will, unless the disintegrating influences are checked, disappear entirely in another generation or two. What we shall have left will be either an agreeable finishing school, or country club, for the sons of the well-to-do, or a combination of academy and school of general science. This, again, may be a good thing; and it may, on the whole, be a gain rather than a loss to assimilate our educational system to those of continental Europe by eliminating the college as the connecting link between secondary school and university. But those who so hold must not argue in the name of the college which they would destroy. They must defend the early specialization involved in putting—or rather in keeping—the professional and technical schools right on top of the secondary school. They must defend the transformation of the American college into a university faculty of philosophy. It is because I do not believe that either defense can be successful that I differ with those who attempt these things, and prefer to make a struggle to retain the American college as such.

The two most active and dangerous foes of the American college to-day appear to me to be those who regard a secondary school training as adequate preparation for professional and technical study in a university, and those who, mistaking the form for the substance, insist that the course of collegiate study must be four years or nothing, unless it be that an especially hard working student is permitted to squeeze four years' work into three.

The former sacrifice the ideal to the commercial and the material, and make every school of law, medicine, divinity, and technology in the land a competitor of the college. The college cannot stand that sort of competition indefinitely, and our life will be the poorer and the narrower if it goes.

The latter, by transforming the college into a university, at least for the latter half of its course, not only radically alter the college training and the college degree considered as ends in themselves, but also put the college in a position where it is economically impossible and, from the viewpoint of social service and educational effectiveness, unwise, to require the completion of its course as a prerequisite to professional and technical study. In only four professional schools has this been done, two schools of law and two schools of medicine; and already, I am told, expressions of dissatisfaction, or incomplete satisfaction, with the result are heard. The fact that the policy is indefensible is clearly shown by the tendency to permit so-called college students to pursue professional studies for one or two years of the undergraduate course. This is an elaborate evasion of the issue, and one by which the degree of A. B. is made either meaningless as an arts degree or else one given for the completion of a two or a three years' course in the liberal arts and sciences, and not for one of four years.

Again I say that these new conditions may conceivably be better than those which they displace. But, if so, the American college is gone and in its place has come a new and different institution, no matter what its name, and the baccalaureate degree is hereafter to be a university and not a college degree. It seems to me to be perfectly clear that in this case the small college will eventually disappear utterly, even though the name survives. The collegiate or academical department of a university will continue in a position of increasing insignificance—save where maintained for a longer or a shorter time by special causes—as an American shadow of a German faculty of philosophy.

Probably few or none of us wish for any such development as this. Least of all is it wished for by those who insist so strongly upon the maintenance, at all hazards, of a four years' college course and the existing standards of admission; yet it is the almost certain result of the policy which they are now pressing upon us. Mistaking words for things, they are striking heavy blows at that which they would like to protect. They should realize the force of the statement of Francis Wayland, even truer now than when made sixty years ago: "There

is nothing magical or imperative in the term of four years, nor has it any natural relation to a course of study. It was adopted as a matter of accident; and can have, of itself, no important bearing on the subject in hand."

I want to retain the college not alone as the vestibule to the university where scholars are trained and where men master the elements of the professional knowledge required in the practice of law, medicine, teaching, engineering, and other similar callings, but as the school wherein men are made ready for the work of life. If the college is wisely guided these next twenty five years, its students who are looking forward to active business careers after graduation ought far to exceed in number those who choose scholarship or a learned profession as a career. For such students the college will be all in all; and with no university course or professional school to look forward to, the college will be the one center of their academic memories and affections. But to draw such students and to hold them in large numbers, and so to impress itself upon the country as effectively in the future as in the past, the college must be really a college and leave off trying to be a university. This means that it must come back into its own natural and most useful place.

Plans to bring this about have been proposed. Most of them aim at shortening the time devoted to the course of the new college, and so at getting rid of one or two of the extra years that have been put on to the course in liberal arts and sciences since 1860. The reasons why any lowering of the standard of admission to college would be against the public interest, I have already stated. Three different plans of getting through with the college course in three years instead of in four have been suggested. The first is to reduce the amount of work required for the degree so that it can be readily completed in three years. The second is to permit a student to take four years' work in three, if physically and mentally competent to do so. This plan seems to me objectionable, in that it throws upon the student rather than upon the college the necessity of meeting a new and involved educational situation. It also tempts some to overwork, others to loaf.

The third plan, and the one which commends itself to my judgment, is to recast and remodel the college course entirely on a two year or a three year basis according to the standard set—and upheld—for admission. The existing four year course cannot be squeezed and pulled into a two year or a three year shape. It cannot be offered to one student on one set of conditions and to others on another set. There must be an entire reconstruction, and the new course, whether it occupy two years or three, must have a unity, a proportion, and a definiteness of its own. It must be a pyramid with a new altitude, and not the old pyramid truncated. It must be built of the best of the old bricks with plenty of new ones added thereto.

It should be borne in mind, too, that, contrary, to the hypothesis of some critics, the new and shortened college course is not at all the result of the widely prevalent tendency to hurry or to hustle, nor is it suggested only by the needs of the professional schools in the great universities. It will, I think, displace the longer course because it is intellectually, ethically, and educationally better. It will train better men and render greater public service than will the present spun out four years' course with its inclusion of almost every subject of study known to man. There is no more obvious psychological fallacy than to suppose that the longer the time spent in getting an education, the better the results. The chances are that the contrary is true. Habits of dawdling, drifting, and incomplete and unconcentrated attention persisted in from sixteen or eighteen to twenty two years of age will weaken any but the very strongest minds and characters. Less time better used is a useful motto for the colleges to adopt.

In the reconstruction which is just beginning, in the effort to get back the American college and to keep it, much depends upon enforcing a sound and helpful standard for admission to college. This has been, and in many cases is yet, the most difficult part of the problem to deal with. But the progress of the past few years is astonishing and full of promise. Co-operation between colleges and between colleges and schools has given us the College Entrance Examination board, whose

uplifting and steadying influence is felt everywhere. Through it the secondary schools learn what to aim at, and the colleges learn what to expect and insist upon. The enormous educational advantages of an examination are gained, while the difficulties and dangers of examinations which repress good teaching are reduced to a minimum.

It will be seen, therefore, that I am hopeful that order is to come out of the present chaos, that the real facts of the existing complicated situation will be recognized, and that an educational reconstruction can be effected that will save the college for a new period of service to the highest ideals of the American people.

## **FUTURE OF THE SMALL COLLEGE.**

**BY WILLIAM R. HARPER.**

**William Rainey Harper**, president of the University of Chicago; born July 26, 1856, in New Concord, O.; graduated from Muskingum college in 1870; in 1875 he became principal of the Masonic college, Macon, Tennessee; in 1879-86 he was professor of Hebrew, Baptist Union Theological seminary, Chicago; in 1886 he became professor of the Semitic languages at Yale; in 1889 he became professor of biblical literature at Yale in addition to the other professorship; in 1891 he was chosen president of the University of Chicago; in 1896 he became head professor of the Semitic languages and literature at the same university; he is the author of *Elements of Hebrew Syntax*, *Elements of Hebrew*, *Hebrew Vocabularies*, *An Introductory New Testament*, *The Prospects of the Small College*, and other books in co-operation with others; he is associate editor of *The Biblical World*, *The American Journal of Theology*, and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*.]

In my opinion the two most serious problems of education which require to be solved within the next quarter of a century are, first, the problem of rural schools, which falls within the domain of lower education; and, secondly, the problem of the small college, which lies within the domain of higher education.

This second problem, which forms the subject of our consideration here, is at the same time serious and delicate; serious, because the greatest interests, both material and spiritual, are at stake; delicate, because there are involved special and peculiar questions of privilege and right. The study of the problem is a difficult one, because it deals with data insufficiently gathered and not yet properly tabulated; because, also, the territory covered is so vast and so differently situated.

I may be pardoned for mentioning my personal experience: My student life was divided, my undergraduate work being done in a small college, my graduate work in a large college or university. My life as a teacher has been almost evenly divided, twelve years having been spent in institutions termed small, thirteen in institutions which may be called larger. I approach the subject, therefore, with no prejudice born of lack of experience in one or the other kind of educational institution.

We shall consider—

I. Some factors which would seem to guarantee the life and the growth of the smaller institutions.

II. Some factors which will be found to stand in the way of such development.

III. Some changes affecting the small colleges which are to be expected and which are to be desired.

Let us notice, first of all, as constituting one of these factors, the widely prevailing belief that the smaller institution has certain decided advantages over the larger in the character of the results produced. This belief is entertained so strongly and in so many quarters that, whether true or false, it furnishes a substantial element of strength to the cause of the smaller college. It cannot be said that, if this belief is false, its falsity will soon become apparent; for, in weighing evidence on both sides of so delicate a question, the number of points to be considered is very great, and the individual equation, in each case, is altogether different. Who can say dogmatically that it would have been better or worse for this or that boy if he had gone to the larger institution instead of to the smaller; or to the smaller instead of to the larger?

The student of the small college, it is urged, has greater advantage because of the closer contact into which he comes with the officers of the faculty. It is certainly true, everything being equal, that the student who knows intimately his instructor, and is himself intimately known by him, has a much greater chance of achieving satisfactory results than the student who has little or no personal contact with his instructor. But here two things should be noted. Is it a fact that in the larger institutions the student comes into less vital touch with his teachers? A study of this question extending over several years has convinced me that the student in the larger institutions not only comes into relationship with a greater number of instructors, but also touches in the closest possible way as many of this number as he would have touched in the smaller college. It is not, however, a question merely of close contact, but of receiving that incitement which stirs the soul to its very depths. I have known instructors in both large and small institutions, close touch with whom would deaden rather than quicken any higher life; and it is only fair to say that the number of such is as great proportionally in the small as in the large institution.



Again, the student of the small college, it is urged, has great advantages, especially in the earlier college years, because in most cases he does his work under men who have the rank of professor, while in the larger institutions he is turned over to young men who are only tutors or instructors. And yet it should be remembered that these same tutors and instructors, if they were in the smaller institutions, would enjoy the rank of professor. I have in mind a university in which every man who is ranked as an assistant professor, instructor, or tutor has been offered a full professorship in a small college, and several of them, the presidency of such an institution.

Further, the student of the small college, it is urged, has greater opportunity to develop responsibility; the number of students being small, each one stands out more definitely and receives greater recognition, while, at the same time, he actually counts for more in the various activities of the college life. It should be remembered, however, that the incentive to excel and the number of activities which present themselves to the student ambition increase even more rapidly than the proportionate increase in numbers; and that these opportunities are higher in character and more varied in proportion to the horizon of those who find themselves in this or that environment.

The point I wish to present is this: The belief in the superior advantages of the small college has taken so strong a hold upon the minds of men in general that, although it rests upon grounds which are in large measure fancied or sentimental, it will serve as a strong factor in assisting to maintain and to advance the interests of the smaller as against those of the larger institutions.

A second factor which has helped the smaller institutions in the past, and one which will continue to render strong assistance, is that feeling, sometimes of awe and almost fear, at other times of jealousy and hostility, which is invariably aroused in the minds of many, toward an institution that has grown large and powerful. The small college is loved and cherished, in most cases, just because it is small and weak; while the larger institution is hated and opposed, because it is powerful. This has been the history of every institution

that has become great. It is the history of nearly every one of the state universities in the western states. It is the same feeling with which the smaller towns or cities in a state regard the one great city of a particular region.

Legitimate use may be made of this characteristic of human nature. I do not call it a weakness. It is a mark of strength when a man, or a community, or a nation, turns in sympathy and compassion toward that which is small and weak; and when this very weakness is in itself so strong as to serve as a ground of appeal for help. The small college will always have friends because of its weakness. And the corollary of this is equally true; the larger institution will have enemies because of its strength. Moreover, this is as it should be; that which is strong will be more likely to become stronger as the result of opposition than as the result of sympathy and help. The latter, too, is often weakening, instead of strengthening. This feeling, therefore, of hostility toward the larger institutions—a feeling entirely natural and altogether general—is in itself a guaranty of a continued interest in the small as opposed to the large institutions.

Closely associated with this is a third factor, which, through all time, will stand arrayed on the side of the small college—a strong and noble phalanx of supporters. I mean the faculty and the alumni of the institution.

No greater acts of heroism or self sacrifice have been performed on battlefield, or in the face of danger, than those which are written down in the book of the recording angel to the credit of the teachers whose very blood has gone into the foundations of some of our weak and struggling colleges. Blood thus freely and nobly given can never have been given in vain. It will cry out to heaven in behalf of the cause for which it was spent, and this cry will be heard and answered, and new friends will be raised up. The love of an alumnus for his alma mater is something sacred and very tender. Does the true son think less of his natural mother because she is, perhaps, poor and weak, or even sick and deformed? The true college man is and will be all the more devoted to his spiritual mother, if, perchance, in the varying tides of human vicissitudes, she has become low; or if, in spite of long and weary

years of struggle, she has failed to grow into full and perfect vigor. There are scores of colleges which live to-day, and in God's providence will continue to live, because of the devotion, even at terrible cost, of a few teachers, or a few alumni. Such devotion money cannot purchase. It is worth more than money. It is a gift more precious than anything material. It is, moreover, the very essence of the life of the institution for which it is cherished. And, as the essence of that life, it is the guaranty of the life of the institution.

Another factor in the preservation and upbuilding of the small college—a factor the potency of which will increase with passing decades—is the desire of men who have been successful in accumulating wealth to do something with that wealth which will be constructive, creative. The faculty of amassing wealth is a constructive faculty, a creative faculty, and the man who has this faculty, if he is of a benevolent disposition, is likely to turn it to a work which is likewise of the constructive or creative type; for example, to the development of college work.

It might almost be said to be a law of philanthropy that it is exercised within a territory coextensive with the horizon of the philanthropist. The great majority of men who have achieved a moderate success in life are known only within a certain district. Occasionally a man is strong enough and large enough to have his name and fame extend beyond the locality in which his work is done; such men are an exception. And just so, men whose hearts and minds are large enough to take in the whole world, whose benefactions are bestowed over a wide area, are exceptions. Most men of liberal mind limit their benevolences to those causes with which they themselves may keep in close touch. In every section of the country, and in almost every country of every state, there are men who are disposed to use their means for the improvement of the particular locality in which their wealth has been accumulated. It is impossible to interest such men in any kind of benevolent work at a distance. If rightly approached, they will undertake work at home. Although interested in educational work, they are nevertheless not interested in the work of the large institution, even when it is close by. They cannot be per-

suaded that the larger institution, with the several millions of dollars which it has already secured, can need additional endowment; and, in any case, they cannot be persuaded that the smaller gifts which they might make would be appreciated in the midst of so much wealth. Here then is a condition of things which will bring about benevolence toward the smaller institution within reach. The number of such men to-day is very large, and that number is constantly increasing with the increasing prosperity of the country. The small college furnishes an opportunity for these men, within their own circle, to do a work for the cause of higher education—a cause which has a peculiar fascination for many minds, because it is a constructive and creative work. In this condition of things there is a guaranty that provision will be made in the future, here and there throughout the entire country, for the development of the smaller institutions.

Still another guaranty for the future of the institution under consideration is the fact that, whatever may be said of the relative advantages of the small and the large institution for the average young man or woman, it cannot be denied that the small college is particularly adapted to the needs of many an individual. And yet I do not mean to say that these individuals are below the average; for many of them certainly are far above the average. I have in mind young men and women of certain peculiar temperaments, as well as those in whose case the transition from a certain mode of life to the more free and liberal atmosphere of the larger institution, the university, would prove to be too sudden. Just so long as there are localities in which, for one reason or another, the privilege of thinking for oneself upon every subject is denied, or in which the habit has not yet been cultivated, there will be needed for those who are destined, in the providence of God, to reach out and attain higher possibilities, places of transition between that which is more restricted and that which is more free. To step suddenly from one atmosphere to another will seriously interfere with proper growth. The smaller college furnishes such a place of transition, and prepares minds that have been under restriction for the broader and higher privileges of the university. This narrowness to

which I have alluded may be the outcome of an imperfect religious system, or of a lack of proper facilities in the lower spheres of educational activity; or, as in certain districts of our country, the result of geographical separation from the great centers of influence, or isolation from the great routes of travel; but, in any case, the small college is specially adapted to the needs of such persons. The demand for this peculiar work, being so strong and so universal, constitutes in itself a guaranty for the future existence of the college.

Perhaps it is at this point that I may mention the economic side of student life, which controls, far more generally than perhaps we might suppose, the possibilities of higher education. The average young man or woman who desires a college education finds more or less difficulty in securing the means with which to make such education possible. It is a question of so many hundred dollars a year. It is evident that in large institutions the expense is more considerable than in the smaller institutions. It is true that all of the larger universities furnish aid to many students, and that in general any deserving student is able to secure help sufficient to assist him in completing his work; but many men are unwilling to accept such assistance. Many have neither the courage nor the cleverness to secure it; and if all who desire an education were to make application to the larger institutions, the funds used for that purpose would prove sadly inadequate. It is only because the smaller institutions, scattered throughout the country, are able to do the work for the young man or woman of moderate means that the larger institutions can, in any satisfactory way, meet the demand which is made upon them. Only a few comparatively can gather together so large a sum as five or six hundred dollars a year for a course of college study, and yet such a sum, in most of our larger institutions, is quite small, in view of the many and varied demands made upon the students. There must be institutions in which the man who can command only two or three hundred dollars a year may find help and guidance in his pursuit of higher education. The larger institutions, located in many cases where rents and food are more expensive, and where the demands of society compel a style of living

which would not be considered necessary elsewhere, are prohibitive to the sons and daughters of families whose annual income is fifteen hundred dollars or less; and if an estimate were made, the great majority of families would find their classification in this category. As long as there are families with small incomes, and as long as in these families there are sons and daughters who desire a higher education, there must be colleges in which this education may be obtained at a minimum of expense. The future of the small college is, therefore, absolutely assured.

In this same connection there is to be considered what may be called the geographical law of higher education. In accordance with this law, about 90 per cent of those who attend college select for that purpose an institution within one hundred miles of home; or, to put the matter in another form, the constituency of even the largest institutions comes in great measure from within one hundred miles of the institution itself. This fact is at once an explanation of the large number of colleges scattered throughout our land, and the ground for belief that this large number will, in one form or another, remain for the most part undiminished.

It is to be noted still further that educational tradition is peculiarly conservative. The tradition in the United States, established two and one half centuries ago, and continuing almost without change until within the last quarter of this century, has been in favor of the small college. It is only within twenty or twenty five years that the larger institution, or the university, has been known on American soil. The tradition is deeply rooted. This fact points unmistakably to the policy of the future; and while the university idea, which has so recently sprung up among us, has before it large and unlimited possibilities, the policy of establishing small colleges here and there is one so strongly fixed that no great modification of it may be anticipated. The additional fact that, side by side with the more recent development along university lines, the colleges have grown, financially as well as numerically, is evidence in favor of the proposition just mentioned. There is no reason to suppose that the larger institution, however influential it may become, will supplant

the smaller. The two may go forward side by side, each exerting upon the other a helpful influence. It is not conceivable that the policy of two centuries and a half, a policy which has been found so acceptable on every side, should suffer serious modification. In any case, such modifications will be gradual, and will permit an easy adjustment under the new conditions which may arise.

One of the most important factors to be considered in any study of the small college is the religious purpose and control with which a great majority of these colleges stand connected. The smaller colleges, for the most part, have been founded with a distinct and definite religious aim. This aim has been, in some cases, to protect certain peculiar tenets of religious faith; in others, to provide a religious atmosphere which should be in harmony with the feelings and opinions of its patrons; in still others, to secure a definite and tangible guaranty of specific Christian influence. In all these cases there was a distinctly religious motive. The fact that so many of these colleges are supported by particular denominations of Christians, and that almost every denomination feels the necessity of supporting colleges in the territory in which that denomination is represented, shows the strong and all pervading influence of the religious spirit. If denominationalism in Christianity were to disappear, one of the strongest foundations of our small colleges would likewise be removed; but just as, in these United States, the denominational spirit has developed and flourished, and has become a marked characteristic of American life in contrast with European life, so the small college, inseparably connected with the denominational spirit, has grown and developed in striking contrast with the educational policy of Europe. If men of deep religious convictions continue to cherish such convictions, and to propagate them, they will find it necessary to educate those who shall hand down these same traditions. To do this with economy and certainty, there must be institutions for higher study which shall be pervaded by the spirit of the denomination desirous of maintaining and developing this growth. This factor is as strong as any that has been mentioned, perhaps strongest of all; and yet this and all that

have preceded it find their basis in another factor—the last which I shall present.

The small colleges, scattered everywhere, are but the natural and inevitable expression of the American spirit in the realm of higher education. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford, as now constituted, are an expression of English aristocracy. The universities of Berlin and Leipsic, and the gymnasia of Germany, represent most fittingly the German imperial spirit. The small colleges in Ohio and South Carolina, and in every state of our magnificent union, are the expression of the democratic spirit, which is the true American spirit. The small college exists to-day as a legitimate result of the working of that spirit. It is as truly American as is any other institution of our country. The American spirit which has created these colleges is, after all, the highest and the most certain guaranty of their continuance, and in this fundamental fact and factor the others to which I have referred find their basis.

Among the factors which will be found to stand in the way of the development of the small college, first let us note the development of the high schools. The modern high school, sometimes called the people's college, is a development of twenty five years. Much of the work formerly done by the colleges is now being done by the high schools. The course of study in many of the high schools is more extensive and more thorough than was the course of study in many of the better colleges thirty or forty years ago. This course of study is likewise stronger and more effective in the results produced than is the course of study provided in many of the smaller colleges of to-day. There is no evidence that the public attitude toward the high school will change. If there were no other reason for the support of the high school by the public, reason enough would be found in the fact that without such work it would be impossible to provide teachers for the lower schools. While much of the constituency of the high school is a new constituency, a considerable portion of it has been drawn away from the preparatory schools and the colleges. So great a degree of perfection has been reached in the work of the high school in many quarters that even



those parents who have the means prefer the public high school to the private academy or college; and by many, a great incentive to patronize the high school is found in the absence of a tuition fee. The requirements for admission to the high school and the length of the curriculum have been steadily increasing, and it seems quite certain that the end has not yet been reached, since satisfactory arrangements have been made in many schools for the work of the freshman year. This is a serious menace to the small college. The fact that the equipment of the high school for scientific work is often better than the equipment of the college which confers the bachelor's degree, brings reproach upon the college work when compared with that of the high school. The preparatory schools of colleges in the west and south are no longer crowded, because students are able to secure the desired instruction in the high school. The influence of this is felt very keenly, and officers of the small colleges are regarding with considerable apprehension the rapid growth of this to say the least, distracting element.

In earlier years, when the entrance requirements were lower, it was possible for the student to give four years of time to work the aim of which was general culture. In these latter days, when the requirements for admission are so high that they in themselves constitute an equivalent of the college course of twenty or thirty years ago, and when young men and women are unable to enter college at an earlier age than nineteen or twenty, it is impossible and undesirable to hold the student to four years of general work. Already the tendency to specialize is seen at the beginning of the third year of college work. This is a natural result of the privilege of election, and also a necessary result flowing from the large number of subjects offered in the curriculum. The small college does not furnish the opportunity to follow out this tendency, and in the case of many students a longer period than is really necessary is spent on subjects which sustain no particular relation to the future work of the student. It is easy to see the great disadvantage under which the student works when brought into touch with his professional studies. In many professions it is essential that the technical work

of the profession be taken up before the age of physical and mental flexibility has passed, and especially in lines of scientific work the small college is unable to meet the demand made upon it.

The whole tendency toward specialism, therefore, even when held within reasonable and legitimate bounds, is a movement with which the small college finds difficulty in keeping pace, the more so because it is evidently not justified in providing instruction in this or that special line of work, when the number of its students interested in such subjects is so small.

As has been said, by far the larger number of our smaller colleges have had their origin in the religious spirit. In many of these even to-day the spirit is not simply religious, nor indeed simply Christian—it is the sectarian spirit. Even from New England one not infrequently hears the cry from denominational bosses that the denominational college must be supported, its halls must be filled by students from the families of those belonging to the denomination, and the denominational ideas must be propagated, or dishonor is shown the founders of the institution and the denomination of which it is a representative. But, on the whole, the sectarian idea in religion is disappearing; except in certain sections, a broader spirit prevails, and sectarianism in education is destined to die within the next half century or so. In this struggle against sectarianism the colleges everywhere take the lead, and one need only study the history of educational institutions during the last quarter of a century to see how one institution after another has quietly passed out from under ecclesiastical control; and how one institution after another has gradually, but surely, thrown off the shackles of the sectarian spirit. If now these colleges have in themselves strength to endure the struggle, they will be stronger and better institutions when the struggle has passed. But many of them are so closely identified with the sect whose teachings they were established to promulgate that with the gradual disappearance of the sectarian spirit there remains no longer good ground for their existence, and we see them steadily losing the place which they once occupied and taking a lower

position; in some cases, indeed, entirely disappearing. This is especially true when, on account of the rivalry between different sects, more institutions have been crowded into a particular territory than the territory could possibly support. Death in these cases is, of course, a blessing—not only to the institutions that have died, but to the world about them.

With the gradual weakening of this narrow religious spirit—often confounded with the denominational spirit, but indeed something entirely separate therefrom—a great success of power and strength which has hitherto lent support to the building up of the small college will be removed. Here is a serious menace to the future of many institutions of this class.

The professional schools with low requirements for admission attract many students who might otherwise take a college course. This multiplication of medical schools and law schools of a low grade is one of the greatest evils in connection with educational work. It is an evil which seems to be increasing, and one which, in many sections of the country, is encouraged for political reasons by our legislators.

Of an entirely different character is the policy, adopted in many institutions, of allowing the college senior to substitute for regular college work the first year of the professional school. This concession, brought about because of the feeling that men must enter the professional schools at an earlier age than has been the custom, is a distinct blow at the small college, where no such connection with the professional school exists, and where, consequently, such concession cannot be granted. The relationship of college training to the training of the professional school is yet indefinitely formulated, but the facts already in evidence show that the whole tendency of the development of professional work is antagonistic to the work of the small college. Men have come to see that in all of the courses directly preparatory to a professional training, and indeed in many of the technical courses included in that training, there is a culture as large and strong and uplifting as in any subject to which the student might devote himself; and, besides, it is evident that in work bearing directly upon one's life work the student has a stronger motive and

a deeper interest than he would have in some subject the significance of which he himself did not appreciate. The problem of correlating college and professional training is one toward the solution of which many minds are turning, and from the study of which much good may be expected in the years that are to come. But in every case it will be found that serious encroachment is being made by the professional schools on the territory of the college.

Closely associated with the development of the professional schools is the development of the university idea. As has already been said, this idea was scarcely in existence twenty five years ago. But now that the spirit has taken root, great things are to be expected, and during the next quarter of a century important strides forward will be made in many centers of intellectual influence. To a considerable extent the constituency of the university will be a new constituency. In large measure, however, this constituency is drawn directly from the field of the small college. The phenomenal increase in numbers of the larger institutions of learning within the past ten years is an indication of what is to be expected in the future. The same spirit which to-day draws men to the city, where special advantages are thought to exist, and where special privileges may be secured, will draw men to the larger institutions, with their larger libraries, their better equipped laboratories, and their more direct contact with life and modern civilization. With this tendency the small college must battle. But, however strong the effort made, in the end the larger institutions will prevail, and the smaller institutions will suffer.

One of the more important, perhaps the most important, of the difficulties with which the small college must contend is the difficulty of securing the strongest men to do work upon the salary that may be offered; and, further, its inability to hold such men if once they have been secured. This leads to the adoption of one of two policies. In some cases the college is wise enough to be satisfied with having young instructors who are strong and vigorous, even with the consciousness that vacancies will constantly occur, and thus innumerable changes be made. The disadvantage of this

policy is, of course, the lack of continuity in the spirit of the institution; but in any case it is an infinitely better policy than the other one, in accordance with which men of second or third or even fourth rate ability are employed, with the feeling that no other institution will cause trouble by calling away the members of the staff. On the other hand, the larger institution is able, not only to select the strongest men and to pay them a salary which will make them satisfied to remain indefinitely, but also to employ younger men, even at a lower salary than is paid by the small colleges, because the younger men see that there is always opportunity ahead. The women's college, even when a large one, labors under the same difficulty, because the strongest men will not consent to devote their lives to work in a women's college. This is a serious factor in the situation, and one the difficulties of which increase every year.

The habit of moving from one institution to another is beginning to gain ground. This is in some sense in imitation of the German custom, and when thoroughly considered it is a custom the advantages of which cannot be denied. Hundreds and hundreds of students, I might perhaps say thousands, find it to their advantage, for one reason or another, to spend a portion of their college life in one institution and another portion in another. An examination of several hundreds of these cases shows that in nine out of ten cases it is a migration from the small college to the larger one. Impelled by a desire to go out into the larger world, led by the reputation of some great teacher or investigator, driven, perhaps, by the necessity of earning his livelihood, or forced by reason of the removal of the family home, the student finds his way to the university and finishes the work begun in the small college. Migration from the large to the small college is comparatively rare. This is an index of the situation, and points conclusively to a tendency from the development of which greater embarrassment will fall to the lot of the small college in the future than ever yet in the past.

The source of greatest trouble to many of our small colleges in the south, and especially in the western states, is the state university. Slowly the influence of the state university

has gained ground, until in some states it has become almost impossible for the colleges to continue their work with satisfaction. So strong has the antagonism come to be that in more than one state the smaller colleges have joined themselves together in an alliance, the object of which is to meet the rapid encroachments of the state institution. In the whole Mississippi valley there are not more than two or three non-state institutions which to-day do not stand in actual fear of the state institutions. The explanation of this is clear. With a political influence which naturally lends itself to the state institution; with the large number of alumni occupying the chief positions as principals and teachers in high schools; with no tuition fee, because provision has been made by the state, and instruction is offered free; with excellent facilities for work in nearly every line; with fully equipped laboratories, and with libraries far more complete than any ordinary college can ever hope to possess, the state university presents an inducement to the prospective student which the smaller college cannot under any circumstances duplicate.

A great outcry has always been made against the state university that its tendencies were anti-Christian, and that its students were under influences many of which were evil and powerful; but a careful study of these institutions shows that the facts do not support these charges. In many, if not in all, of the state universities there is cultivated a deep religious spirit, and the Christian activity and interest in bible study are greater by far in proportion than in some of the smaller colleges which are under denominational control. This fact is coming to be more and more largely appreciated, and with the appreciation of it there will come a still larger shrinkage of the constituency of the small college. There have come to me within one week letters from the presidents of three colleges in a single state asking for aid in securing the principalship of a high school in the city of Chicago or in its vicinity. The request was made upon the ground that it was no longer possible to continue the struggle of building up a college when the adverse influences were so many and so strong. It is an important fact that in some states the influence of the state institutions has been so great as actually to

prevent the organization of any considerable number of small colleges. I do not at this point say whether this condition of things is, upon the whole, favorable or unfavorable to the general cause of education. I merely cite it as an example of what the small colleges may expect in the future when the state institutions in their vicinity shall have become stronger and more powerful.

We come now to the consideration of the changes affecting the small colleges which may be expected and are to be desired. First among these will be the strengthening of some. The laws of institutional life are very similar to those of individual life, and in the development of institutions we may confidently believe in the survival of the fittest. The severe tests, to which the life of many institutions is subjected, serve to purify and to harden these lives. The institution which has survived the trials and tribulations of early years, and which, by this survival, has justified its existence, not only to its constituency, but to the world at large, deserves to live; and its subsequent life will be all the stronger and heartier because of the difficulties through which it has passed. The purpose of suffering is, therefore, much the same in the case of an institution as in the case of an individual. There will, of course, be fluctuation, and the institution destined to live and to exert a strong influence will at times be less strong than at other times, its clientage less numerous and earnest, its standard less ideal, and its life less vigorous; but, here and there, as determined by the needs of spiritual life, and by the conveniences of practical life, an institution will gradually grow into strength which, in the face of even the greatest difficulties and disasters, will prove invincible.

In this struggle for existence, some of the colleges that have already been organized, and others the organization of which is in the future, will be compelled to limit their activity to the sphere of work known commonly as the academic, or preparatory, field. It is probable that a careful examination of the colleges now chartered in the United States would show that at least 20 to 25 per cent are doing work of a character only little removed from that of an academy.

While, therefore, 25 per cent of the small colleges now conducted will survive, and be all the stronger for the struggle through which they have passed, another 25 per cent will yield to the inevitable, and, one by one, take a place in the system of educational work which, while in one sense lower, is in a true sense higher. It is surely a higher thing to do honest and thorough work in a lower field than to fall short of such work in a higher field.

Another group of these smaller institutions will come to be known as junior colleges. I use the words junior colleges, for lack of a better term, to cover the work of the freshman and sophomore years. With these may usually be closely associated the work of the preparatory department, or academy. This period of six years is, I am inclined to think, a period which stands by itself as between the period of elementary education and that of the university. The work of the freshman and sophomore years is only a continuation of the academy or high school work. It is a continuation, not only of the subject matter studied, but of the methods employed. It is not until the end of the sophomore year that university methods of instruction may be employed to advantage. It is not until the end of the sophomore year that the average student has reached an age which enables him to do work with satisfaction, except in accordance with academy methods. At present this consecutive period of preparation, covering six years, is broken at the end of the fourth year, and the student finds himself adrift. He has not reached the point when work in any of his preparatory subjects is finished. He is compelled to continue the same work under new and strange conditions, with new and strange instructors. Not infrequently the instructors under whom he is placed in the freshman year of college are inferior to those with whom he has been associated in the academy. A great waste of energy, time, and interest follows this unnatural break in the prosecution of the student's work. Nature has marked out the great divisions of educational work, and the laws of nature may not be violated without injury. My firm conviction is that in time this difficulty will be appreciated, and that a large number, perhaps even a majority, of the colleges now attempting

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to do the four years of preparatory course and the four years of college work will be satisfied to limit their work to the six years which would include the preparatory training and the first two years of college life. The motives to this change will be found in its economy, and in the possibility of doing thorough and satisfactory work, where to-day such work is impossible.

There are at least two hundred colleges in the United States in which this change would be desirable. These institutions have a preparatory school as well as a college course. The number of students in the preparatory school is, perhaps, a hundred and fifty. In the freshman and sophomore classes they have thirty to forty students, and in the junior and senior classes twenty to thirty. The annual income of these institutions is restricted for the most part to the fees of the students, and will average from all sources, let us say, eight to ten thousand dollars. In order to keep up the name of the college, the income is made to cover the expenses of eight years—that is, the preparatory and the collegiate departments. In order to do the work of the junior and senior years of the college, even superficially, where the classes are so small, as much of the total income is spent upon the instruction during these two years as upon that of the five or six years below. It is evident that, even with this disproportionate expenditure, the work of the junior and senior college years can be done only in a superficial way, because the library and laboratory facilities are meager, the range of instruction is very narrow, and a single instructor is often required to teach in three or four subjects.

But this is not the most significant fact. When the money paid by the students of the first six years has been used for instruction of a few men who are working in the last two years, in order that the college may continue to be known as a college, there does not remain sufficient income to do justice to the work of the lower years. This is an attempt to do higher work at the cost of the lower.

Another change is coming, the development of high schools into junior colleges. Evidence that this change is already taking place may be found on every hand. The establishment

of hundreds of high schools through all the states is in itself a new element in our educational machinery which has disarranged the former system, but has, at the same time, greatly advanced the interests of education itself. The quickening influence of these institutions is seen, not only in the increased number of those who continue their work in the college and the university, nor merely in the fact that a larger number of more intelligent men and women is thus contributed to the various communities, but especially in the fact that the teachers of the schools of a lower grade are vastly stronger and better prepared for their work.

The suggestion is made from time to time that the people will not consent to continue the public support of these high schools. But, as a matter of fact, they do continue to support them; and, more than this, these schools are constantly increasing their requirements for admission, as well as their facilities for instruction and the number of years of the curriculum. It has now come to be generally recognized that the ideal high school must have a curriculum of four years, and in many sections of the country this has already been secured. In others, it is coming. The next step in the development of this work will be the addition of one or two years to the present courses; or, in other words, the carrying of the high school up to the end of the sophomore college year. Already this has practically been accomplished in certain schools in Michigan and in some of our cities. It can be done at a minimum of cost. To-day only 10 per cent of those who finish the high school continue the work in college. If the high schools were to provide work for two additional years, at least 40 per cent of those finishing the first four years would continue to the end of the sophomore year.

With this modification of the high school on the one hand, and with the suggested modification of many of our colleges upon the other, there would come to be a system of colleges, state or non-state, which would meet the demands of the situation to-day as they are not met. Many of the normal schools of western states practically occupy this position.

Again, the small college of America is everywhere practically of the same type. So far as general plan is concerned,

each college is a duplicate of its nearest neighbors. A terrible monotony presents itself to the eye of one who makes any attempt to study the aims and motives of these institutions. All alike try to cover too much ground, and, worse than this, all alike practically cover the same ground. A change in this respect is desirable, and inevitable. This change will come partly in the way of establishment of colleges for particular purposes; a college, for example, established principally for the study of science; another college established principally for the study of literature; another for the study principally of historical subjects. The principle of individualism, which has already been applied in education to the work of the student and to the work of the instructor, must find application to the work of the institution. The idea has prevailed that every newly founded institution should duplicate the work of those which had preceded it, and in consequence the colleges of our country are, with a few notable exceptions, institutions of a single character. This means narrowness, but it means more. Inasmuch as each institution tries to cover the same ground, and all the ground, the result has been that no effort has been undertaken to establish a school which will allow thoroughness or depth. The college that has no endowment, or an endowment of a hundred thousand dollars, seeks to do the same thing which the institution with millions of dollars of endowment finds it difficult to accomplish. The technical school with no endowment, or an endowment of a hundred thousand dollars, seeks to cover every field of technical work. The time will come when institutions will cultivate individualism; when one institution will give a large measure of its strength and energy to the development of a department of history and politics, another to physics and chemistry, and another to the biological sciences, another perhaps putting all its efforts into the great field of electricity. This will be in striking contrast with the present policy, in accordance with which the most poorly equipped college announces courses in every department of human learning; and students are compelled, in self defense, to dabble in everything rather than to do work in a few things.

Yet a further change will be the development of a spirit of co-operation. It is only within a few years that there has been any co-operation worth mentioning among colleges and universities, and the co-operation which has so far been inaugurated is of an exceedingly superficial character. Enough of it has been worked out, however, to make those who have tasted it desire still more, and the few steps already taken are but precursors of many that are to follow.

It is not enough that there should be associations in which, once a year, the representatives of certain institutions may come together for the reading of papers and the passing of resolutions. With better classification of educational work, with the greater similarity of standards for admission and for graduation, and with the variety of type secured, so that individual institutions will have individual responsibilities, there will be found a basis for co-operation such as has not hitherto existed. This association will be similar to that which men in all divisions of the business world have found necessary and helpful. Such relationship will serve as a protection for all who thus stand together, against misunderstanding and ignorance. It will secure results which no institution of its own strength could secure. It will lift educational work above the petty jealousies and rivalries which to-day bring reproach and disgrace upon it. It will mitigate the evils of competition, and, indeed, will substitute for these evils the blessings which follow honorable and legitimate rivalry.

Such a relationship entered into by the colleges of a certain district will dignify the work of the small college and secure for it a proper place by the side of the institution under state control. This relationship will be, in effect, a federation of higher institutions, and through this federation it will be possible for each of the interested colleges to strengthen its faculties. There is no reason why a great specialist in a particular department might not be the servant of two or three institutions, to the advantage of the subject represented, the colleges thus associated, and the cause of higher learning. Such an association, in brief, will open up new possibilities for the small college, and it will secure privileges which to-day are far beyond its reach.

## AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

BY ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

[Ethelbert Dudley Warfield, president and professor of history of Lafayette college; born March 16, 1861, at Lexington, Kentucky; graduated from Princeton in 1882; continued his studies in Oxford, England, the next year, and in 1885 was graduated from the Columbia college Law school; from 1886-88 he practiced law in Lexington, when he became president and professor of history in Miami university, whence he resigned in 1891 to become president of Lafayette college; in 1891 he was ordained to the ministry in the Presbyterian church; he is the author of *The Kentucky Resolutions of 1898*, *An Historical Study*, *At the Evening Hour*. The following is from *Munsey's magazine* by special arrangement.] Copyright 1901 by Frank A. Munsey

No phase of social progress is more characteristic of the development of the United States than the growth of our universities. Indeed, the whole field of education has been so fertile in ideas and undertakings that European critics, and especially English critics, have declared that America is education mad. The fact is that the growth of democracy demanded a leveling principle, and the growth of wealth made this a leveling up and not a leveling down, as it rendered it possible for the poor boy to work his way to an education, and the educated man to become a leader in political and—which is true of America almost alone—in social life.

One of the most marked features of our educational growth has been its spontaneousness. It has sprung from the people, from local needs and, even more, from local aspirations. On this account it has lacked unity and system; but it has gained something far better than either unity or system—vitality. It has been a part of the social life of the people, and the divergence in the social life of Massachusetts and of Georgia, of Pennsylvania and of California, has been no less than the difference in the school and college growth of those states.

As the educational institutions were the outgrowth of local needs, they were nearly always adapted to the field in which they sprang up; as they were not less the progeny of local aspirations, they were often vastly ambitious in plan and name. Fortunately those ambitions were allowed to

slumber in the charter till the time was ripe for their prophecy to be fulfilled in fact.

The early colonists were jealous of their position as educated men, and determined that their children should not decline in knowledge and intelligence. Yet few of the colonies made permanent foundations of schools upon such a liberal basis as insured a proportionate growth with the colony. The notable exceptions are Harvard, founded in 1636; Yale, in 1701, and William and Mary, in 1693. Among the colonial institutions still in existence, nearly all have had a more or less broken continuity. They are Bowdoin (Maine), Brown University (Rhode Island), Kings, now Columbia (New York), Dartmouth (New Hampshire), Princeton and Rutgers (New Jersey), the University of Pennsylvania, and Washington, now Washington and Lee (Virginia). Of these, Harvard and Yale, of the earlier group, have grown with each generation and are typical American universities, and the same is true of Columbia, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania in the second group.

Immediately after the revolution there was a movement for the founding of academies and colleges, a movement which spread rapidly into the new west. There, in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, it gave birth to academies which somewhat prematurely set up the curriculum of colleges, and in the largeness of expectation which has ever characterized the west—whether trans-Appalachian, trans-Mississippi, or trans-continental, first flung out the banner of the university. Thus Transylvania university burst its chrysalis on January 1, 1799, while Harvard and Yale, long after they had become universities in fact, clung to the time honored name of college.

The early type was based upon the colleges of the English universities, especially Cambridge, in which the American clergy had largely had their academic training. The instruction was relatively upon a low standard, and tended to gravitate rather to the type of the so-called English colleges, or public schools, of Eton and Winchester. The chief subjects of instruction long remained elementary mathematics, Latin and Greek. The impulse in the founding of the earlier schools having been given very largely by the clergy, there was

always some instruction in mental and moral philosophy, and generally in history, which was really treated more as applied philosophy than as pure history. The practical demands of the pulpit and the controversial atmosphere of the times put a high value on what now appear to have been very dry and formal courses in rhetoric and logic. The sciences were in their infancy, but the claims of chemistry, physics, and astronomy were not wholly neglected. Indeed, the fact that they early found a place in the American curriculum shows the relative liberality of our colleges as compared with those European schools of the same grade and purpose.

It was unfortunate for the American people that, while they were struggling with high ambitions and keen practical vision for some basis for their educational system, they had so little to aid them in the mother country. The English universities had fallen into a sleepy old age in the eighteenth century, from which they have even yet but half aroused themselves. Jefferson saw this, and invoked the French influence in his foundation of the University of Virginia, in 1825, setting an example which affected many southern institutions.

About 1840 England turned to Germany for more vital methods; the leaders of thought in New England took the same course at a somewhat earlier time. Gradually German influence brought about radical changes. The new suggestions fell upon a rich field. The time was fully come for American educational growth. Many ideas of native origin were stirring, such as those associated with the personality and work of Horace Mann, which embraced the thorough organization of the public schools, a normal school system, and the co-ordination of the education of women with that of men.

Two or three definite ideas became clearly marked in American education in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were not always properly connected, but as they were more and more widely accepted, it became necessary for educational reformers to unite them.

The first to become really dominant was the necessity of a college education. It was somewhat on the economic prin-

ciple that in the progress of civilization luxuries precede necessities. Where few enjoyed this distinction, it was highly valued. The energies of an entire family were devoted to the proud purpose of giving the most promising son the privilege of going to college. As the privilege was rare, the most unusual knowledge acquired was the most highly valued. Hence, instead of the colleges being degraded to the practical requirements of a new country, they were stimulated to maintain an honorable eminence as intellectual leaders in communities that were rapidly advancing in wealth and material progress.

The second was the growth of professional schools, often independent of college connection, sometimes connected with colleges. The early training in the professions was obtained by the sending of young men to study under preceptors. The clergy first departed from this method, to establish theological professorships, which grew into separate seminaries. Always the leaders in intellectual movements, they first insisted on a thorough college preparation before the commencement of the studies embraced in the theological course. Gradually independent schools were affiliated or absorbed, and the American colleges began to be universities—at least, so far as mere groups of faculties can constitute such institutions.

The third of these ideas was that of the public obligation to provide free schools—an idea of vast possibilities, many of which have been realized, and the end is not yet. It flourished first in New England. Gradually it carried the free school over the northern states and made steady conquests in the south. From primary it advanced to secondary education, then to normal training. From time to time it showed its power in this state and that by leading to the state taking up collegiate work; then, in the act of 1862, it invaded national legislation, and gave birth to the great system of land grant colleges, originally planned for education in agriculture and the mechanical arts, but which have assumed many and various forms and proportions undreamed by their founders.



These three ideas may be said to have been the great shaping influences that have given form to American university development. They have been combined in endless variety; they have been reinforced by many other influences; yet these have been fundamental. In general, we may say that university growth has been due to a widespread popular estimate of the value of a college education, to the bringing together into a single system of independent schools, and to a great public system of free education, which has prepared students for collegiate and professional courses, and has set up rivals for the older institutions in a great number of state colleges and universities.

But university expansion in America has had some very unique features, which need to be specially noted. Those under the influence of the more formal type of German thought are wont to define a university as an institution of higher education which has faculties of arts, medicine, and theology. This is a poor definition, setting form above substance, and the body above the spirit; yet it has had a great influence in university growth. Thus Harvard, chartered in 1636, maintained its faculty of arts alone till 1783, when it first added a medical faculty. The law department dates from 1817, and the divinity school from 1819. The sister university in Connecticut, in many ways a contrast to Harvard, developed in this direction more slowly, and always with great conservative loyalty to the arts course as the center of Yale life. Yet Yale entered, by affiliation, into the medical field in 1814, into law in 1843, and divinity in 1867.

It is interesting to note that Columbia, situated in the metropolis, while following a similar course with the opportunity of affiliation almost thrust upon it, did not incorporate departments of law and medicine till so late as 1858 and 1891, and has now only very slender ties with the nominally affiliated theological faculties. The University of Pennsylvania only recently provided a law school, and is still without any sort of theological faculty. It is yet more striking to observe that, of the three great American colleges, Princeton has steadily resisted the temptation to add professional faculties and has advanced to the university rank and name by virtue

of its claim to do university work in intention rather than in extension, in spirit rather than in form.

Perhaps the most potent influence in that university expansion which appeals to the eye, and which has found expression in the magnificent buildings that adorn so many of the college grounds, has yet to be mentioned. This is the progress of science and invention, and the material wealth which has come forth from it since the middle of the last century. Before it began to be felt, the colleges were largely classical and philosophical. The branches of science taught were dealt with in the most elementary way; the instruction was from text books, there were few experiments, and no laboratory work. As science began to advance, provision was gradually made for its teaching. A few feeble polytechnic schools came into existence to meet the practical demand for civil engineers. Men of practical taste and adequate wealth, finding an illiberal spirit in the college faculties of instruction, offered to endow co-ordinate faculties for scientific teaching. Thus the Lawrence school was established at Harvard by a gift of a hundred thousand dollars in 1847, and a similar school, afterwards the Sheffield School of Science, at Yale, the same year. In due time, as the various forms of engineering and applied science grew in importance, these schools began to take on the distinctly polytechnic type, and similar schools were added in many places, as the John C. Green school, at Princeton (1873); the School of Mines, at Columbia (1864); and the Pardee school, at Lafayette (1866).

This marked the adoption, in the fullest sense, of scientific thought and purpose into the academic field. As yet it was as a separate faculty, and, from the European point of view, one out of place in a university. Indeed, the complete assimilation of the departments of applied science is far from adjusted now. Yet the claims of these practical callings of engineering and chemistry, supported as they were by the wealth that they had brought to their votaries, accompanied by gifts for laboratories and endowments for professorships, took precedence over the pure sciences in receiving university recognition.

The American mind is at once practical and liberal. The English are less open minded. Conservatism to them, is not a means to an end; it is, as often as not, an end in itself. So Oxford has failed to identify itself with the greater England of to-day, and is content to influence that part of English thought which it molded in the seventeenth century. The college of which I was a member in my student days has now the same buildings and the same plan of instruction it had when William Penn obtained his grant of Pennsylvania. He who seeks classical and historical training may find it there, vital and in touch with contemporary scholarship, but the college knows nothing of the culture and the force to be gained from the natural and the physical sciences. It is proud of the careers of such sons as Sydenham and Wren, but has established no school of chemistry and biology in memory of the one, or of architecture in honor of the other.

As soon as graduates of American colleges realized that they had failed to get what they needed for their work in the dear old college days, they set about securing for others what they had missed. It was not long before there was a response from the professors of pure science, and, in due time, chairs were established and equipments purchased.

Then a new and difficult question presented itself. The old college course was a well tested and closely articulated curriculum. Every part was nicely adjusted to every other part. The great staple was the historic humanities—the classical languages, with their literatures, embracing philological, philosophical, and historical teaching. The modern languages, some little physical science in a more or less narrow place, mathematics, enjoying considerable favor as far as the elements of calculus, and very humble applications in simple mechanics and surveying, completed the curriculum. The course was planned for boys, and was well adapted to develop them into strong men. It was not fitted to make scholars, and the new ideas demanded more knowledge as well as a wider curriculum.

An intense struggle began and is still going on. President Eliot, of Harvard, became the leader of the party which demanded the admission of the sciences on an equal footing

with the old subjects. The practical method by which this was to be secured was the so-called elective system, which allowed the student to choose from large groups what courses he would pursue. At first this choice was confined to the last year of the college course. Then time was gained by raising the entrance requirements, and the choice was extended into the junior year. From year to year the programme of this school of educators became more and more radical, until it has finally taken up a position which practically asserts that all branches have an equal educative value if pursued for equal periods with equal earnestness. The result has been that Harvard practically asks nothing of its students in the college department, when once admitted, except a fairly definite purpose in the choice of studies made from its various and highly diversified courses. This tendency was met elsewhere by a more moderate use of the elective system, and by the arrangement of a number of parallel courses, definite in conception and leading to different degrees.

Two things have grown out of the elective system everywhere. The newer sciences have come into the colleges with a growing demand for more teachers, more time, more equipment, and the amount of study given to each subject has greatly increased. This has reacted on all the teaching in all the departments, creating a demand for more Greek and more Latin, and better teachers of both.

In the older days a single professor taught Greek and Latin, and often some other subject, such as philosophy. In the department of science, the natural and physical sciences were sometimes all in a single teacher's charge. While the teaching was often admirable, most of the sciences were but half developed, and all the instruction was elementary. But when the whole field of learning was being worked with marvelous results, specialists were naturally produced, and even humble students, who had no room in a busy life for research, were kept alert and active in merely following the researches of others. The teacher became a living worker, and longed to impart what he was daily learning. In consequence, the colleges gave themselves heartily to the movement for higher

entrance requirements, and more extensive courses in every branch of learning.

It was plain to many wise teachers that this too eager pursuit of special knowledge was breaking up the power that had so long worked through a broad and thorough curriculum, without replacing it by a real mastery of special subjects. The true nature of the university became a great subject of discussion. It was made plain that the American college was not the equivalent of the philosophical faculty of the German university, and that the too eager Germanizers were wrecking the most vital factor in American education in a rash attempt to bend it to a new and alien end. These leaders began the advocacy of graduate courses, conducted on the true university principle of high specialization, extended investigation, and absolute freedom of choice. In 1876 Johns Hopkins university was opened. Working on this plan of supplementing, instead of supplanting, the admirable college course, it has done a splendid service to American education.

It has become clear that the university purpose is best fulfilled in this country through the professional schools, on the one hand, and the graduate courses on the other. These courses are now conducted by the ablest specialists in America. They cover the widest possible range of scholarship, and are well supported by endowments and admirably supplied with laboratories and libraries. Professor Münsterberg of Harvard, looking through German glasses, thinks they do not as yet possess much fruit in productive scholarship, but he has his eyes too much on books and academic performances, too little on men and economic and social forces. Though in their first age, and in some things too conscious of their own importance, the graduate faculties of American universities have accomplished a great deal in making plain the value of research and specialization as the real university work, and in discrediting the imitation of university work which has in some places been palmed off on a too credulous public in connection with the teaching of boys in colleges.

It remains to note the extension of universities by the addition to them of other faculties not historically connected with them, and the final extension of the name to cover the

great department store idea in education. Thus, the medical school in this country early developed a very useful offshoot in the school of dentistry. A school of pharmacy followed, and the science and its application went a step farther in the school of veterinary medicine.

Some of the newer institutions, catching the popular feeling in favor of the combination suggested in the development of the medical field, at once began to make the standard of the university the old but somewhat discredited one, of a studium generale, in the sense that anyone could learn in it anything conceivable. Thus, the prospectus of the Leland Stanford university announced that provision would be made for the instruction of anyone in any subject demanded, and that the only qualification required would be a letter setting forth clearly what the writer wished to learn. This can scarcely be regarded as a step in university expansion. It was rather university degradation.

The University of Chicago has taken up the idea of making a university a universal educational institution, and has achieved a popular success. It has had enormous financial resources, a remarkable executive, and a great field. At present its organization consists of five divisions. The first of these contains the professional schools, graduate schools, and colleges of arts and science, and also an academy. The fourth contains the natural adjuncts to the schools and colleges, the libraries, laboratories, and museums. When we pass beyond these divisions we are in a position of doubt as to the attitude the remaining divisions bear to the university idea, or, indeed, to any sound educational scheme. The second division, for example, is that of university extension, and includes a correspondence study department; the fourth is the university press, with a department of purchase and sale; the fifth consists of the university affiliations, and includes the work done in institutions which, although not forming an organic part of the university, have entered into the relationship of affiliation.

The wide scope of such an institution makes it possible for it to give great service, but it may be doubted whether the highest service of university leadership is not lost in an

attempt to carry on too many of the departments of approved and unapproved educational work.

And here is the great weakness in the university development in America. On the foundation of the college and the land grant school of agriculture and mechanics we have erected splendid groups of buildings, and have peopled them with capable professors and eager students; but each in turn has followed a policy of rivalry instead of co-operation, of repetition instead of supplement. Clark university stands out as a lonely attempt to do a few things supremely well. Why is it not possible to avoid the endless repetition of costly equipment, and secure a cordial co-operation? Some work admirably done in one university may well be supplemented in another. A system of migration, such as is common in Germany, would enable a graduate student at Princeton to spend part of his time at Columbia or Johns Hopkins with due credit. An eminent foreigner, who is now a professor in one of our universities, made this experiment not long ago. The trustees deemed his act a blow at their claim to absolute and final possession of all knowledge, and made it the subject of a formal rebuke.

The growth of the past half century is remarkable from every point of view. It is to be hoped that the next half century will place a higher value on the university spirit in all forms of work, will more clearly recognize the limitations of the university as an institution, and of individual universities as effective forces, and develop a spirit of co-operation which will place learning above local reputation, and productive scholarship above the number of students.

## AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IDEALS.

BY EMIL G. HIRSCH.

Emil G. Hirsch, professor of rabbinical literature and philosophy in the University of Chicago and minister of the Sinai congregation of Chicago; born May 22, 1852, in Luxemburg, Germany; graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1872 and continued his studies in Berlin and Leipzig 1872-76, becoming rabbi in 1877; he was minister for the Sinai congregation of Baltimore in 1877 and of the Ardath-Israel congregation of Louisville, Ky., the following year, coming to the Sinai congregation of Chicago in 1880; the same year he became editor of the *Zeitgeist*, Milwaukee, continuing until 1887; in 1886, he became editor of the *Reformer*, New York, and is now editor of *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago; from 1888-97, he was president and member of the public library board of Chicago; he has written a number of monographs on religious and biblical matters and edited the biblical department of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*; he is well known as an orator. The following is from the *American Journal of Sociology*.]

The signs are multiplying that the ideal of the American university is beginning to take shape. While the creative week which is destined to mould it into perfect realization has by no means run its appointed length and is perhaps even not very far spent, yet the first day's formative "Let there be light!" has sounded. Primordial chaotic indefiniteness has yielded to incipient order and fruit bearing concentration. Whatever the American university may and should share with the historic institutions of other lands, enough of its destiny and function is even now indicated to bring out in clear relief the lines along which its own peculiar possessions and possibilities must and will develop. It stands to reason that the American university cannot be a slavish replica of however perfect a European model. According to an old legend, even God's revealing voice shaking Sinai's cloud crowned peaks to the very foundations and waking the whole universe to responsive and awe struck attention, clothed its one fundamental truth in as many dialects as found sound on human lips. Science, indeed, knows no geographical and no national boundaries. Its curiosity and message are for all climates and times. Yet, no two nations approach its altar by the same paths. Historical conditions which even the master of giant genius may not undo, for they have become a part of himself and of his people, introduce also into its world



dominion a personal and national equation. This, if one chooses so to regard it, limitation to national distinctiveness in dialect and expression, science shares with every member of the hierarchy appointed to lead man to the sanctuary of the heights vouchsafing the outlook and the uplook into the ideal meanings and relations of things. Art is certainly one of this priesthood. Yet, though she witnesses to a perfection which may beam upon man everywhere, she casts her testimony into certain moulds which differ not merely with the centuries, but also with the countries. Poetry is intensely human, and yet her melodies are always set to diverse keys chosen not merely under the pressure of individual temperament, but clearly responsive to national predispositions. Shakespeare prophesies of the eternally human, because he is so fundamentally British, Isaiah and the "son of man" have appeal for all generations and races, and yet they crystallize their stirring and uplifting thought along axes arising from the very soil of one land and the hopes of one people at definite periods of its career. Religion, the most universal of all human potencies, throws her white light into a many colored spectrum, its lines varying with the zones and epochs revealing the medium through which the one common ray had to pass to token the bow of promise arching across the sky.

These historical conditions cannot be ignored. They are roots of power. The last decade of the last century augurs so well for our nation because it proclaims the independence of the American university, as confidently as did the fourth quarter of the eighteenth compel recognition of the political autonomy of the republic by the nations of the earth. Independence, of course, can never be more than relative. Humanity, whatever the complex manifestations of its teeming energies, is organic. It holds its separate parts to interdependence. That the declaration of independence which for all mankind has made the Fourth of July sacramental was in its fundamental contentions not an original document, is not a secret. It is the precipitate of the political and philosophical doctrines of the age which lent tongue to Rousseau and pen to Montesquieu. Nevertheless, in its emphasis and its conclusions as applied to a concrete circumstance it was

a new creation. As philosophers those who drew its phraseology had predecessors; as American statesmen, they had none. The undimmed glory of a new initiative is thus theirs.

He who would be for American education the Jefferson to herald the liberating word and intone the birth song of a new freedom, will, consciously or unconsciously, pursue paths analogous to those which the framers and signers of the declaration of our political independence chose for their confession of faith. In his theories, the spirit of the age will find a powerful echo. His, as incontestably as any European thinker's, is the past of the race. The failures and the victories with which the records of distant centuries or near decades are vocal are weighty monitions or winged messages to him. The American educator is no Chinese mandarin who in the anxiety to preserve his independence forgets the interdependence of all ages and countries. For such mandarins America has no call. But in the application of his wisdom, gleaned in all the fields and quarried in all the mines of accessible earth, the American has no more urgent circumstance to weigh and to remember than that he is neither in Germany nor in England—but in America.

In their temporal appointments even, for many circling years to come, if not forever, our universities will be confronted with difficulties pressing down to the same degree none of their European continental sisters. In Germany and France, and the other transatlantic states, education in its widest scope, from the primary school to the academy, counting among its members the greatest masters, is the solicitude of the government. Museums, libraries, and laboratories; funds for publications and grants for scientific expeditions, are endowed or maintained from the same source from which the police or administrative machinery of organized society draws its support. Moreover, the university stands, on the one hand, in an organic relation to the secondary schools, which are regulated with a sole eye to make them the well equipped drill and recruiting grounds for the higher schools; on the other hand, it is the great and only reservoir supplying the state and the public with functionaries. The university, including the university like schools of technology, is the sole

gateway to a career of honor in the church and the state, in medicine and law. These conditions do not now and probably never will obtain among us. For years to come our universities will yield the palm in museum and similar facilities to the old centers of European scholarship. Even our state universities, in view of certain well known peculiarities of our present political life, cannot congratulate themselves upon being the objects of the government's anxiety in the sense in which Berlin or Heidelberg may do so. They have good cause to be thankful that the attention paid them by the state legislature is not more intense; the suspicion is well grounded that they would look over too frequent an inspection by a legislative committee as in more than one way a—visitation. The great and glorious work done by many of the state universities, one is safe to say, is not in consequence but in spite of the attention of the legislature. The folly of slavish imitations of transatlantic university methods and models is apparent if no other factor be weighed than our antipodal temporal situation.


Higher reasons, however, than these give point to the ambition to create in America the American university, which, while profiting by the larger wealth and longer experience of Europe's historic centers of learning will blaze paths peculiarly its own. The passion for American educational independence has even now won for the American professor equality with his European colleague, if not of opportunity and facilities, at least of expectation. The last four lustra have wrought a wonderful change in the appreciation in even wider circles, of the character, the ultimate aim of university instruction. Time was, when among us transmission of knowledge was deemed the sole function of the so-called university teacher.

The emancipation of the American university from slavery to this prejudice was the final triumph over scholasticism, which defeated elsewhere had found its last refuge in our American school methods. The schoolman has implicit faith in books and authority. Knowledge for him is the acquisition of information established before. This view is involved in the very fundamental proposition of all scholasticism.

Truth is a fixed quantity. To it nothing may be added, from it nothing can be detracted. Truth, in very fact, comes to man; he cannot come to and by it. Under the dominion of this idea, Moses and Aristotle, the bible and the organon became the taskmasters of all mediæval thought. Life and man dwindled away to a shadowy background while the book, the letter, loomed up in the foreground in gigantic stature. Tradition was the court of final appeal and precedent the peg to every tether. Christianity, Judaism, the Islam, were alike under the spell; law and medicine no less than philosophy and theology were left to fret away their fresh impulses in the torture of a Procrustes couch to which, under the despotism of the pre-established truth as found in the books by the surgery of causistic dialectics life and man had to be fitted. Scholastic education emphasized books; the modern ideal—man. To restore to living man his birthright which the dead book had usurped, was the motive of the struggle which began when the age of the crusaders and discoveries demonstrated by bringing men face to face with new facts, for which, in the scholastic scheme there was neither provision nor place, that the territory of truth embraced wider regions than the parchments of dead authorities had measured.

As long as scholasticism wielded the scepter in our American colleges, the German university could not but be the blessed Mecca for the young and ambitious among us thirsting for freedom and opportunity. To those that in body or in the spirit made this pilgrimage, we owe on this side of the ocean the dismantling of the citadel of scholasticism, garrisoned in our methods and institutions. They have, in tearing down the Chinese wall of authority and book worship to make room for man in American education, won for America a new independence.

As long as the book, the precedent, and tradition were the exclusive solicitude, knowledge was repetition, and facts and definitions in whatever order amassed and memorized stood not merely for the scaffolding of science but for science itself. The teacher was, indeed, merely the medium to transmit facts, which he himself had learned from another. The moment the supremacy of man over facts and books is conceded the



teacher's mission, in whatever school he may be placed, changes. With facts he is but concerned in so far as they are his tools. Knowledge is not repetition but reproduction. The guide to the halls of learning has no other duty but to stimulate the energies of the mind confided to his leadership to reproduction. Method, the power to control facts, the means to discover facts, not the transmission of knowledge, is the ultimate design of all true teaching. In winning recognition for this elementary but all important conception, the American scholar has opened for himself another opportunity, admitting him to science's holy of holies. He, condemned so long to act the part of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, may now aspire to the very high priest's tiara. To teach is not his sole pre-occupation. To search for new truths is also his obligation. Knowledge is not a fixed quantity. Her realm has no boundaries beyond which there is no need to push on. The university professor, and so is the university student, is the Columbus of unknown seas, the Livingstone of unvisited continents. What he knows, is for him an indication of what still remains unknown. What others have found must always suggest to him that more things are hidden waiting for the explorer's eye!

The American university has in these days found this, to it so long denied, supreme opportunity. Its new sense of independence inspires it also with self confidence that among the busy pathfinders its sons shall not be the last nor the least. The sky which arches over our continent is studded with interrogation points as richly as is the firmament of the eastern hemisphere. The American astronomer, therefore, cannot complain of lack of opportunity for original investigation. Our rocks and rivers, our fauna and flora, our mountains and cañons, spell solicitous invitations for geologists and botanists and biologists promising ample rewards to him who refuses them not the tribute of devoted attention. Indeed, no words are needed to prove the assertion that America has not been stepmotherly to the loving suitor who would have her tell him the innermost secrets of her birth and growth. In fact, American scientific men, whatever their specialty, on the watchtower of the night spying for the erratic brilliancy of

the comet, in the bowels of the earth cross examining into eloquence the petrified forests of antecedent æons; in the laboratory counting the throbbings of the sun's heart, or taking the census of the population of a single drop of water—a micro-cosmos, allowing a peep into the very life story of a planet, have even before documented the autonomy of the American scientific investigator.

But there are other fields and as rich ones which now attract the eye of the American scholar. In them he has already done much more than to glean the corners. The American scholar is no longer the poor wayfarer claiming the leavings under the old Mosaic poor laws. In philosophy and psychology he has made by no means mean contributions. Into archæology and philology, which one would suppose to be the eminent domain of nations bordering on senility, the young giant of the west has taken mighty strides.

The American scholar is no stranger in the papal library; his fingers have turned often the catalogue of the British museum and handled its parchments and tablets. Ghizeh, the necropolis of Egypt, resurrected to new life, will soon learn to know and to trust him. The American schools at Athens and now at Rome, the American expedition to old Babylon have annexed the acropolis and the forum and the ruins of so many royal palaces to—America. These are now a part of every true American university.

Were even this disadvantage of distance greater than it is for the race who have learned to trust the jealous ocean, the nightmare once of every Roman, by way of compensation the American university is assigned under the principles of the division of labor many a field which to cultivate the world looks to it. The investigation of the red man's civilization, the study of his dialects, is pre-eminently the contribution which American anthropology and glossology is expected to make. The very fact that our republic has become the meeting ground of varied races and nations constitutes it also a laboratory for the ethnologist and sociologist which the European may well begrudge to his American colleague. The very degradation of our municipalities renders them great trial fields for the elucidation of the pathology of mu-

municipal government, that cannot but attract and reward the devotee to political science. America has a history; if its archives do not teem with dusty regesta and papal bulls or imperial franchises and charters, the formative period of our republic, its constitutional development and much more was not unworthy the searching acumen of a von Holst. That American finance and political economy tempt the schooled mind by the very exuberance of the experiments we have indulged in stands to reason. American independent scholarship and the American university have both by their earnestness and the vastness of their peculiar opportunity won the right to full recognition in the republic of science.

"Who reads an American book?" could, not many decades ago, be the insolent skepticism of one who deemed the virgin bride of the setting sun too much engrossed in material work and worry to attune her lyre to song worthy of intonation in presence of British minstrels. To-day the taunt of assumed superiority is changed to eager summons for the American muse to sound her lay. For she has assumed David's part and sings to Saul, an ancient world sunk into melancholic surfeit of life, the story of the brighter hope spurring on western manhood to new conquests. So does to-day American scholarship, like American literature, hold the expectant attention of every land. Its own periodicals command respect and its sturdy yeomen are not infrequent nor minor guests at the symposia of European academicians.

Yet another vital duty devolves upon the American university.

It cannot be content with being a cloistered company of cultured and scholarly men and women. Let the stream of its tendencies by all means take rise in the Alpine altitudes of pure thought; let its mother source be among the glacier lakes whose crystal waters are not passion swept or churned by prejudice. But as the rill descends to the lowlands it must widen; it must meet the sister rivulets and open its arms to them; it must roll on through the plains and hurry to throw itself into the embrace of the ocean of humanity. In other words, the American scholar cannot be a recluse. Though he, like the lonely lens grinder of Amsterdam, must seek to

understand all things, he cannot consent to forswear his human affections. He must preserve his capacity for indignation and admiration.

The nation has claims upon him. She is his mother and into her household he is expected to introduce his bride, his science. He must not be the hermit but the prophet, seeking his kind to speak the voice of warning and clarion the appeal to action. In our democracy, the aristocracy which Plato dreamt of as the rulers of his model community must strive for the scepter by winning over to their clearer way of thinking the multitude. The American university has the function of the gulf stream. Its influence must belt the broad Atlantic of the people's public life, temper indifference into enthusiasm and fanaticism into tolerance. Our university extension, the very summer quarter, are proof that in this spirit this university was conceived. But this spirit must prophesy over many dead bones, that our people shall respond to the vernal call of the resurrection. No lover of our country and its institutions but must have in his thoughtful moments taken notice of the flight of black winged petrels foretelling the gathering of a storm. The danger which none may blink arises as much from an overdose of chlorals called conservatism as from too free an indulgence in nerve tonic, labeled radicalism. The demagogue is busy compounding his drugs; it is he that reaps the harvest, while we alternate between languor and paroxysms of fever. The conservatism of American institutions has often been commented on. It has stood us in good stead in many a crisis which would have swept away nations on a more mercurial basis.

This conservatism has crystallized in the constitution, this wonderful instrument of political sagacity, and in so doing has stamped upon our institutions their characteristic element. For it is this which distinguishes American constitutional life from that of Great Britain. In the United Kingdom no such breakwater is erected as we possess in our Supreme court. Beneficial as this institutional conservatism on the whole to us has been, it cannot be disputed that in this epoch of industrialism of ours emergencies have arisen for which to provide apparently the framework timbered



in a period of agriculture and provincial barter is not broad enough. Progress is more vital and justice more essential and humanity more sacramental than even constitutional literalism or casuistry. Yet this reconciliation of the political principles of the eighteenth century cannot be accomplished by heated prejudice and passionate appeal. That of this we have to-day a surfeit none may dispute. Selfishness always engenders selfishness. Selfishness wears to-day too often the cloak of conservatism; it cannot be indignantly surprised that as frequently its own motives assumes as readily the livery of radicalism. The duty to mediate devolves clearly upon the trained minds and men who have learned to pierce beyond the selfish outer crust of interest to the inner kernel of principles.

The social question is to-day the perplexity of every land. It is the penalty which a man now pays for his Promethean presumption to yoke the lightning to his plow. I have faith that its solution will be peaceably attained on the continent over which floats the starry banner of liberty wedded to law. I question not the sufficiency of our political principles to meet the issue. Yet, I cannot hold with what would pass and pose for American conservatism, that the foreigner is the sole disturber of Israel. Were Ahab not sceptered and crowned among us, neither a native nor an alien Elijah could arise to prophesy the judgment. Microbes of plagues will work their deadly havoc only where the conditions favor their culture. We have become urban when one hundred years ago we were rural. Concentration of population in industrial centers is not an unmixed good. Whether the problem be indigenous or imported, matters not; it is among us. Who is commissioned to speak the message of peace? None other but the university! From its halls shall go forth the law, and from it as the Zion of the age the redeeming words.

As an American university ours was conceived; as an American university open to the light from arc or lamp, no matter where shining, but conscious of its own opportunities and obligations it is developing. May it live, grow and flourish—into ever greater usefulness as the months roll on and the years lengthen!

## THE ADVANTAGES OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

BY JOHN F. MULLANEY.

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The question of making the Catholic university the center of the church's entire school system will be discussed in this essay. The experiment would awaken more than ordinary interest. There is nothing novel in the idea; it is simply the application of the principle of unification to our Catholic school system. If successful, new life would be infused into our educational institutions, and the success of the university would be assured. The mediæval universities tested the idea and found it helpful. It is in successful operation now in the Catholic universities of Louvain, Friburg and Lille and Laval where Catholic schools and colleges are affiliated. The idea prevails also among non-Catholic universities. London university is a good example; she is the mother of university extension in its various forms, which reverses the idea of university life. The University of France illustrates the possibility of having one central institution to dominate and stimulate our entire Catholic school system. Nearer home, we have a better illustration of what I mean: viz., the university of the state of New York. It has been in operation more than one hundred years, and though in the beginning a rude machine, it has been brought to a wonderful degree of perfection. All its activities are for intellectual life. Its duties are chiefly of a supervisory nature. It is composed of five hundred incorporated in-

stitutions scattered throughout the state. It is directed by a body of men chosen from among the foremost citizens of the community. Each college or academy has its own charter and it has no interference whatever, except in stimulating, harmonizing and encouraging pupils and teachers to secure the very best results possible. Now this is just what we need for our Catholic school system. Why cannot our Catholic university do this work? Let us examine a few of the advantages of a Catholic university.

In the first place we might ask the question, why the Holy See, through its late illustrious head, Pope Leo XIII., recommended to the American hierarchy the establishment of a Catholic university at Washington. Was it for the sake of the advancement of the sciences, or for the benefit of the Catholic youth of these United States? The answer is clear. The Catholic university was recommended solely for the sake of our Catholic youth. The church encourages and patronizes the arts and sciences for the sake of religion. She rejoices in the widest and most perfect system of education from an intimate conviction that truth is her ally as it is her profession, and that knowledge and reason are the handmaids of religion.

From this it is evident that the chief object of the Holy See in establishing our Catholic university at Washington was the moral and intellectual development of our Catholic youth, with a view to their spiritual welfare and their religious influence, so that they might fill their respective places in life better by making them more intelligent members of society. It was not therefore simply to develop professional skill in science and literature, that the university was founded, but to benefit the Catholic youth of these United States. Consequently, it is not an institution merely to stimulate philosophical inquiry or to extend the boundaries of knowledge. All this is excellent, but there are numerous other institutions adapted for that purpose. It is a singular fact that very few of the great discoveries were made in universities. Of course there are noteworthy exceptions. The object, then, of a Catholic university at Washington is not simply to protect the interests of science and literature, but to

make its students cultured Catholics and intelligent citizens of the United States. It does not seem rash to say that we Catholics are as anxious as our non-Catholic neighbors to have the advantages of a university education. We would consider it prejudicial to the interests of religion that our children should be less cultured and educated than others. At a great sacrifice we build and support our own schools and we are willing to apply the same principle as regards higher education. We all realize that without this latter we are handicapped. The Protestant youths of the country who have the means and inclination continue their studies till the age of twenty two or twenty three, and thus they employ, in serious studies, the time of life most important and most favorable to mental culture. Most of our Catholic youths end their education at sixteen or seventeen, and consequently, in the great struggle for place and advancement, they cannot be considered a match for youths who end their studies three or four years later in life. This explains why so few of our Catholic laity are holding the highest places in the various walks of life. They are handicapped for the want of a university education. The consequences are that Catholics who aspired to be on a level with Protestants in discipline and refinement of intellect in the past, were obliged to have recourse to Protestant universities to obtain what they could not find at home. This is one of the many reasons why we should glory in the blessings of a Catholic university, for it will afford the advantages of higher education in the best Catholic form.

We might ask, what are these advantages? They may be summed up in one sentence—the culture of the intellect. The most of the Catholics of these United States came here penniless, oppressed, and robbed of educational advantages. For centuries they had been deprived of any education necessary for the man of the world, the statesman, the professional man, or the cultured gentleman. Thank God, this moral disability is being removed. In founding a university, our desire is, not polished manners and elegant habits only; these can be acquired in various other ways, such as by frequenting good society, by travel, by cultivating a taste for home study

and refinement, and by the grace and dignity of a well regulated Catholic mind. But the force, the steadiness, the comprehensiveness and the versatility of intellect, the command over our own powers, the just estimate of things as they pass before us, requires, as a rule, much effort and the exercise of years.

This is real culture. It manifests itself in a polish of manners and speech which is beautiful in itself and pleasing to others. But it does more. It trains the mind and brings it into form, for the mind is like the body. Young people outgrow their form; their limbs have to be knit together and their system needs building up. They often mistake their youthful spirits and overtax their strength. This is a good picture of the condition of the mind. They have no principles laid down within them as a foundation for the intellect to build upon; they have no discriminating convictions, no grasp of consequences. And therefore they talk at random if they attempt any lengthy discourse. They fail to perceive things as they are.

What is more common than the sight of grown up men talking on all kinds of subjects in that flippant manner that evidences that they do not know what they are talking about. Such persons have no difficulty in contradicting themselves in successive sentences without being conscious of it. Others can never see the point, and find no difficulties in the most difficult subjects. Others are hopelessly obstinate and prejudiced and after having been driven from their opinions, return to them the next moment without even knowing why. Others are so intemperate that there is no greater calamity for a good cause than that they should take hold of it. This delineation of intellectual shortcomings is common to the world at large. It is an evil which is to be met with everywhere, and to which Catholics are not less exposed than the rest of mankind.

When the intellect has once been properly trained and formed so as to have a connected view of things, it will display its powers with more or less effect, according to the mental capacity of the individual. With most men it makes itself felt in the good sense, sobriety of thought, honesty, self

command and steadiness of view which characterize it. In some it will have developed habits of business and the power of influencing others. In others it will draw out the talent of philosophical speculation and lead the mind forward to eminence in this or that department. In all, it will be a faculty of entering with ease into any subject of thought, and of taking up with ease the study of any science or profession. All this, university training will do even when the mental formation is made after a model but partially true; for as far as effectiveness goes, even false views of things have more influence and inspire more respect than no views at all, and hence the infidel, the heretic and the fanatic are able to do much, while the Christian who has never realized the meaning of the truths which he holds, is unable to do much. He will, no doubt, save his soul, but will do little to influence others. Now if consistency of view can add so much strength even to error, what may it not be expected to furnish to the influence of truth.

To-day the church, in every quarter of the globe, is strenuously striving to establish Catholic universities. The movement implies that there are essential elements omitted in the present systems of education which are under the patronage of the state. The church is no novice on the question of education. She has had too long an experience not to know when to approve and when to censure. She taught the barbarian hordes how to read; she formed them into Christian nations; she built for them the mediæval universities. It was under her guidance that the great schools of Paris, Boulogne, Padua, Oxford, Cambridge and of all of Europe, attained their maturity and were crowned with that halo of glory that hangs around them even to the present day. And when these schools passed out of her hands and ceased to do her work, she begins anew and lays the foundations of similar institutions which generations to come will regard with the same reverence with which we, at the present, regard her past works. Those who know not her untiring patience and divine origin, think her old and decrepit, and look upon all such efforts as the fancies of a second childhood. They forget that the church is never old; she is as young and

vigorous to-day as she was in the morning of her creation, and will so continue until the end of time. She is the custodian of principles both of reason and revelation, and her principles are unchanging and unchangeable. With the progress of time, views and opinions and systems are born, become mature, and die, to be replaced by others; but with these she does not identify herself. When they are the outcome of the principle placed in her keeping, she fosters them; when they contradict those principles, she opposes them and holds it her duty to call the attention of all to what is of truth. Now as thought is ever active, so too it is ever developing, and in its onward march, it partakes of the distinct coloring of each successive age. The spirit of each period will scatter among the seeds of truth also the tares of error. To root up and suppress these tares is part of the church's mission; and as they vary with each epoch, so will her means of destroying them vary. A doctrinal error is broached, and she holds an ecumenical council to define the truth opposed to that error. Some false principle threatens the faith and morals of her children, and she encourages religious organizations with a spirit and scope directly opposite. And so when education, under the direction of the state, became dangerous, owing to the lack of religious instruction, she, at once, established her own schools on a religious basis. She knew that her efforts would be only partially successful unless she had control of education in its higher phases. Therefore her eagerness to see Catholic universities wherever Catholics are able to support them.

The functions of such a university are many and far reaching. Therein may the children of the church be well grounded in the reasons for the faith that is in them; therein may they leisurely and effectively co-ordinate all her doctrines and note the points at which each touches the other and see their harmonious relations as a whole; therein they may learn to reconcile scientific truth with the teachings of revelation; therein may be rounded the minds of the professors and teachers intended for our elementary and secondary schools; and thus may its beneficial effects be felt in all classes of society. It will mould intellectual action; it will

create new spirit; it will infuse new life into educated Catholics.

We must bear in mind, however, that a university is not the work of a day. It is only through difficulties that it can grow into greatness. It must have large and commodious buildings; it must pay eminent professors; it must gather together a good library; it must have scientific cabinets; it must possess a goodly store of chemical and philosophic apparatus. All this involves considerable expense. Then a university is an institution of slow growth. The nature of the studies pursued and the advanced age at which young men are prepared to pursue them, render the attendance comparatively small. At most they are few who have the leisure and means to fit themselves for a university training and pass through its complete curriculum. For this and others reasons, a university, in its beginning, is not a paying institution. It must be a burden upon any body of men starting it. Only after years of work, when its alumni will be able to speak for it, and its necessity shall have imperceptibly grown upon the people, will it begin to stand upon its own basis. But first it must work out a name, position and a prestige for itself. These achieved men will wonder how their ancestors could ever have gotten on without such an institution. All honor then to those generous souls who bear the burden and heat of the day, and in silence labor hard in laying the foundations of institutions, the success of which theirs it will not be the lot to catch a glimpse of.

It is now upwards of twenty years since the hierarchy of these United States undertook to establish a Catholic university at Washington, D. C. They began, possessing nothing, but they soon found generous friends who fully appreciated their efforts. They did not want to trust their children to the secular universities that abound in every state; the lack of religious training in them is a defect which cannot be made up by other advantages, no matter how numerous or important. Catholic faith cost too much to barter it away for a feed of intellectual husks, and Catholics were prepared to bear this additional expense. They remembered that their forefathers had abandoned titles, power, wealth, educa-



tion and even life itself, rather than forfeit the least jot or tittle of that precious article, and they were willing to maintain a university in addition to the burden of a dual system of education. This is why they undertook to build a university and to equip it with a magnificent corps of professors that would shed luster on older institutions.

The Catholic university, though beginning under bright auspices, has not received the patronage and confidence it deserves. It may be that we are not educated up to a sense of its necessity. In this shortcoming we are not alone. Protestants, too, are not alive to the necessity of university education in the higher sense of the term. They attend Yale, Harvard and Syracuse, etc., not for educational purposes only, but also for political and social influence. They make acquaintances and form associations while there, and these same associates they meet in after life, not as strangers, but as old friends. The result is they have not to struggle for years to get a recognition; they are pushed into place at once. No doubt this temporary advantage is one of the reasons that induce Catholic parents to withhold their patronage from their own university. But this advantage should be regarded as a mere trifle when weighed against the many superior educational advantages to be derived therefrom, especially that greatest of all—the strengthening of the faith of their children.

Indeed, Protestants as well as Catholics should be interested in the Catholic university. It is destined to become an impregnable bulwark against the attacks of irreligion. Its professors should give the proper cues for the right understanding of the new departures of science in its relation with revealed religion. It is only in the study of principles that true philosophy is found, and for these we must look to Catholic teaching. Hegel and Herbert Spencer can never take the place of Aristotle and St. Thomas. It is only in scholastic philosophy that the truths and principles exist, by means of which modern sophistries may be successfully refuted. The Catholic university should be the citadel of defense to meet the modern modes of intellectual warfare on revealed truth. The great conflict to-day is between infidelity and Christianity.

These are the days when every lover of truth should put forth his whole strength in its defense. Whoever has a timely word to say, should say it in the best and the most forcible manner possible. The day of voluminous treatises is forever past. Men are too busy to spend time on labored folios. The short essay and the brilliant lecture are taking the place of the cumbersome compilation. Our opponents are alive to this fact. They monopolize most of the magazines and reviews within their reach. The ablest writers of the day are enlisted in the interest of every form of unbelief. Men living in such an atmosphere are soon perverted, for they find it easier to doubt and question than to prove and refute. We must look to the Catholic university at Washington and the Catholic universities of the world to establish counter currents to the irreligion of the day.

For this reason and many others that might be adduced, we all should unite in making the Catholic university the crown of our entire educational system. Its influence should be felt from the kindergarten in our primary schools, up through academies, institutes, colleges, and seminaries. It might perform the special work of the religious and secular universities that I have already mentioned, and thus influence every Catholic educational institution in the United States. Then we would have a common source of direction and supervision. There need be no interference with the particular methods used by our great teaching orders, male and female. The university would encourage teachers and pupils all along the line. It would, in other words, be a great supervisory board for our entire educational system, with one aim and object, to secure the best results possible in every department. Thus it would stimulate teachers and pupils. We need some such stimulus. Unification is the cry of the public schools in our Empire state, and why should it not form the battle cry of our Catholic school system? If the federation of our Catholic societies would prove a blessing, why not the federation of our entire school system? The fact is we need new text books on pedagogy, history of education, psychology, ethics, and English literature. Then we need badly a series of catechisms well graded for secondary schools and

colleges. The text books we have are not exactly what we want. They have served their day and reflect credit on the busy priests and religious communities, but now we want something more up to date; something in keeping with the advance made along the lines of secular text books. The university can, in time, do this work and even now can direct and encourage such work. In a word, the university should be in touch with Catholic education, Catholic thought, and Catholic life from the east to the west, from the north to the south.

A chair of pedagogy should be established. Pedagogy has gone crazy. The text books introduced into our normal schools and high schools and teachers' training classes, are a disgrace to all believers in revealed religion. The major part of these text books are taken up with reviling time honored educational institutions, and insulting the most law abiding portion of our glorious republic. The establishment of a chair of pedagogy at the university will help to set matters right by teaching the truth about this much distorted subject. It is a charity to teach our neighbors the true meaning of the eighth commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." This will add weight to the university in educational matters. Then pedagogical courses established in all our great centers will have a real value.

It is of the utmost importance that the Catholic university succeed, but it must be generously supported through years of struggle. The clergy must encourage it and educate the people up to its nature and necessity. The prelates must exert themselves and see that those in their diocese for whom it was established patronize it. They must not be content with simply giving it approval. They must do more; they must lead the way to raising sufficient funds for its support and endowment. The various educational bodies who have colleges and schools of their own should encourage their young men, on leaving them, to complete their studies in the university.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times is the remarkable clustering of religious orders round this great educational institution. Already the Dominicans, Francis-

**cans, Oblates of Mary, Fathers of the Holy Cross, Sulpicians, Paulists, Marists, etc., have located there and have built or are building magnificent structures for their students. They circle round the university as well disciplined children gather round loving parents. The university represents, through its secular clergy, the root and trunk of this great educational tree, while the various religious orders and the Catholic laity represents its branches, blossoms, and fruitage. The university is the apex, the watchtower; the various religious families of the church are the walls and fortifications of this great citadel of truth.**

## UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR BUSINESS MEN.

BY SIMON N. PATTEN.

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The training of men for business was, for a long time, rather a matter of theory and prophecy than one of actual practice; and its critics could plausibly affirm not only that apprenticeship is more valuable than a course of instruction but also that the latter, by delaying real experience, renders a mastery of business details more difficult. Of late years, however, several schools for higher commercial education have been established, and it is possible to subject them to the test of results. If the critic who doubts the efficacy of this work will visit their class rooms, he will observe that the earlier experimental courses have been discarded, modified, or recast until they have acquired educational and practical values that are ultimately expressed in terms of efficiency in work, earnestness in ideal, and culture in mind. This article is written, not to defend these schools, but to point to some fundamental changes that commercial training is making in college programmes and in educational theory.

Every new type of education is called forth by new problems. It brings other problems in its train, and alters the whole field of educational methods. The first radical revision of the old college programme was caused by the introduction of courses in the natural sciences; the second change followed the establishment of technical schools for engineers, chemists, and electricians, and developed new methods for the realization of educational ideals. No one to-day doubts the advantages of engineering schools; they are as strongly established and as liberally supported as the older professional schools for the study of law and medicine. A third phase of university

development has been introduced by the business courses. Higher education for business life is now claiming equal rank with courses in science and technology and is demanding radical changes in methods of instruction. Why do business courses press so insistently for attention, and what changes in educational theory and practice will their introduction force upon the universities?

A generation ago the free public high schools were a minor factor in national education; to-day they are its fundamental modifying influence. Then most students entered college from private schools and left it for the learned professions—law, medicine, and theology; now public high schools have more than a half million students and their numbers increase in ever growing ratios. The support of high schools by towns of one thousand or more population has become assured, and their natural expansion to a basis proportionate with population means an attendance of at least two million pupils. No one for a moment assumes that a place for that number of students can be found in the older professions—they must seek positions in the business world. Moreover, the older professions, desirous of raising their standards, have hastened to build upon the fuller preparation for life that the high school offers its multitudes of young men—and law, medicine, technology, architecture, dentistry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine have all availed themselves of improved educational facilities to demand of the high school graduate a more searching period of work before they will permit him to enter his profession. If the community's good is furthered by four years of training of its village dentist, assuredly the more responsible positions of merchant and of banker may be elevated in the same way to a higher standard of efficiency with yet greater general advantage. Should not the quality of their work be as carefully safeguarded and its methods be measured by as thorough and uniform tests as are the dentist's cleanliness and manual skill?

Some answer, no; because their ideal of business training is apprenticeship, not a technical educational preparation. Let the boy go from high school or college straight to shop or store, they say, and by practical experience win the knowl-


edge that is requisite to success. This ideal is a natural derivative of the period of industrialism when the system of apprenticeship was widespread in America, and was valid as long as masters continued to train their apprentices in the arts they had themselves acquired. It had yet greater cogency and worth in those countries where sons were customarily apprenticed to their fathers. But the system has been well nigh destroyed by large scale production and the differentiation of its processes. Minute division of labor has forced the unskilled man into a routine so narrow that his natural powers contract until he has neither satisfaction in work nor hope of promotion beyond it. Executive positions are filled, not from these lower ranks of labor in the factories, but by men fresh from the outside trained in another atmosphere.

The old sequences of the apprentice system are further interrupted by this distinctly American situation—boys do not commonly follow their fathers' vocations. The son of the unskilled immigrant moves upward to classes of work his father could not aspire to; and his son, with the advantage of two generations on our soil, achieves a life standing yet more esteemed. Farmers' lads move to the towns, the boy of the village merchant works for a medical scholarship, and the ambition of the doctor's son is to be a civil engineer. Few are they who are contented to accept their father's station as their own, even though they gain by doing so the marked initial profit of his experience and personal interest. Indeed, while our period of undeveloped resources continues the business lore of the fathers will avail but little with the sons. Because of these changes organized and systematic commercial education has advanced to a position it could not previously have won, and stands between society and the blunders of the unskilled as the master worker and the father once stood. Except for it production would be maimed and hobbled by inefficient bunglers gaining knowledge at a cost cruel to employers, investors, and the public.

In spite of the prevalent discussion of the subject, few people realize definitely enough the thorough change in the traditions and methods of business that has followed the transition from small scale to massive production. One particu-

larly important alteration it has effected has scarcely been noticed yet; a contrast clearly exists between the static element in the working population which holds to a definite place in shop or store, and the progressive element which pushes upwards by breaking the chains welded by the routine of mechanism. The great business, carefully organized, tends to put each man into a fixed group defined by its unvarying duties; his associations are more and more with his fellow members; he is horizoned by the same street, the same club, and the same restraints of rank. The deeds of other men at other tasks go on beyond his view, and the educative experiences of democracy, as it was expressed in business two generations ago, are withdrawn from him. Trade unionism is one of the barriers that are being erected between classes coincidentally with the stratification of large industries. To be loyal to one's group is moral, social, and idealistic; but it narrows vision and sets bounds to aspiration. To be progressive is to break through restraint; and to be successful is to supplement the lessening experience in factory or office by an educative process which yields those qualities that factory and office can no longer give. It is the work of the business and professional school that frees dynamic forces, releases men from devitalizing routine, and loosens the undemocratic bonds of group life. The discipline and the ideals of those schools renew in the professions and trades that continuity of tradition and the aspirations towards better work that once were gained by personal contact of master and apprentice.

Higher business education instills in young men a spirit that uplifts their profession or trade. The law school has elevated the practice of law more rapidly and effectively than any measures taken by purely local groups of lawyers could have done. Educated engineers have far higher standards than would have been reached had each person made an isolated start in some routine position and moved forward on the slow and uncertain road of practical experience. Every trade is vitalized by a new impulse as soon as a school is founded to gather its traditions and to voice its aspirations. Two instances of this have come under my observation. A school of philanthropy, established in New York, has put new hope in





substantially appreciated. The station in life in which he finds himself will thereafter bind him, and he will fear dismissal rather than hope for promotion.

This potent fact of industrial management is apparently in such powerful opposition to the social principle of prolonged childhood that it must nullify the humanitarian movements towards it, were it not for the fact that the argument for early entrance into business is also a strong argument for the extension of the school period. In truth, the energetic young man, coerced by the shortened period of maximum efficiency, cannot wait for the knowledge that comes slowly through business experience. He must begin the rapid race of business life equipped with the traditions and culture of the best schools. He must be a gentleman with ready powers of conversation and with a host of friends among the men of his class. He must have those resources the school can give—mobility, courage, hope, and a social standing which will open doors that otherwise would remain closed. The short road to ultimate success in the business world is through the longer and more laborious entrance afforded by school training. Initial delay is more than compensated by the speed of promotion after the student has shown his fitness to his superiors in the field.

The problem, then, of commercial education is to discover the type of training which will so supplement business experience that rapid promotion is possible. I choose the word supplement because I do not wish to convey the impression that the school can impart instruction that displaces the need of business experience or can lead young men along a royal road to high positions. Practical experience is as valuable as it ever was, but a young man must know what he wants and where to get it, before he can gain understanding rapidly enough to make it available. The business man needs knowledge, traditions, and ideals that do not spring from the monotonous routine of his early humble positions. Zeal, energy, courage, and hope come with youth—if they come at all—and are brought into business, not derived from it. The high school graduate of eighteen has at least sixteen more years in which to serve his apprenticeship to business while his full powers are developing and before his station in life is deter-

mined. Higher commercial education demands four of these years. There are still twelve remaining before the final test comes in which to mingle the knowledge won at the university with the sagacity gained from practical business experience. If four years of student life increase mental plasticity and prevent the contraction of future routine, delay brings its own reward in added efficiency and vigor. One year in four of the apprenticeship period is not too high a price to pay for increased mobility and strength of character.

This is a break in educational tradition, which it should be remembered was molded centuries ago when north Europe had not advanced beyond a low type of civilization marked by sensuality and coarseness of appetites and desires. Education was not an indigenous growth springing from the peculiar qualities of each people, but rather a transplantation of ancient culture. The teacher was usually educated abroad and was to the pupil the exponent and exemplar of an exotic foreign and classical culture. A national culture developed in time, but it was a class room product passed onward through a line of great pedagogues. To-day the school is fortunately no longer its chief repository, for it has become a native product, and, in America, the very essence of our growth. It is found in the parlor, the art gallery, the museum, the club, the church, the theater, the book, and the magazine; yes, even in the newspaper, and on the street. It throws about us the strongest inducements to spend and to enjoy, and with its manifold pleasures it tempts young men to excess more strongly than the crude dissipations of those earlier days now have the power to do. In many forms it absorbs their time and energy, and may even undermine their moral resistance, distract their purpose, displace their ambitions, and weaken their determination to do concentrated and steady work.

The school, however, instead of increasing this strain upon the character of the boy should bulwark him against the too early inrush of diverting pleasures. To be educationally effective the school should resist the tendency to broaden the studies of childhood and youth, and subjects intended to give the pupil breadth and diversity of interest should be delayed until the powers of manhood begin to develop. The boy is to

become an earner; therefore, the first years of work should awaken moral not æsthetic feelings, the product of which shall be not art but capital. Capital grows neither by living abreast of one's income, nor by spending before one earns, but by delaying expenditure and refusing to anticipate the pleasures that may properly accumulate later in life as the result of early abstinences. No one under thirty five should live up to his income. During his whole probationary period a simple strenuous life should exclude the products of wealth and leisure that take time and dissipate the producer's energies; the muscles should be hard, the mind clear, thought direct, and decision adamant. The commercial school ought to be the apostle, not of expanding wants—they will surely come of themselves with wealth and leisure—but of discipline, of vigor, of manhood; yes, of routine and of self control. It is the long view of life holding a great store of future pleasures that steadies men for success.

Education has come to bear a new relation to the home as well as to the world. Formerly the home was disciplinary and the school was cultural; now the home is cultural, and the school should be disciplinary. In those early times the home was a place of work and the school a place of leisure; now the home is a place of recreation and leisure, and the school, to be its complement, must be a place of work. The limited income of the teacher often prevents him from exerting the cultural influence that is elsewhere thrown about the students. He cannot hope to be comparable as a model with many men outside of the school with whom the students are in contact. He can, however, press for clear thought, discipline, economical living, and simplicity of life as persistently as other forces in home and neighborhood press for variety, expenditure, and the expansion of wants. When he does it strongly the school becomes the complement of home and of social environment and a paramount factor in helping each generation through the long probationary period before the full powers of men are tested and their final station in life is determined.

We emphasize this new function of the teacher by drawing a distinction between the content of college courses and the college environment. Earlier in the history of civiliza-

tion the two could not have been contrasted, because the teacher was the environment of the student, or else if he could not bulk so large he molded the student life. We have all heard a college defined as a log with Mark Hopkins at one end and the student at the other. When he is a man like Hopkins—and there have been many of them—the teacher creates new ideas and ideals for the student out of the material which he has made a part of himself, but which is out of the reach of the student. His descriptions of distant scenes and of civilizations long past so vivify and realize them that their cultural values are absorbed by the student without the contacts on which traditions usually depend.

But to-day the college life within a large university is a vast depersonalized force acting upon the single student. There are acres of buildings in which have been gathered the culture of the ancients and the first records of contemporary peoples just emerging from their barbarism. If museums and art galleries are not on the campus they are in the neighboring city; there, too, are the great libraries which have done away with the need of a book borrowed from the teacher—that first step to many friendships. The student is housed in dormitories, fed at the college dining hall, and recreated at the college club. There is the stadium for athletics so stately as to recall the Coliseum at Rome, and beside the stadium is the gymnasium that trains the student for games that hold a nation's attention. Around the campus many fraternities are housed in imposing buildings that combine home and club life in an environment of culture. The sum of these influences is a part of the college atmosphere of to-day which—wholly distinct from class instruction—presses the student into his moral, social, and religious form. This well nigh automatic installation of culture is to-day possible in America because her newly concentrated wealth has just begun to pour forth in vast quantities into physical comforts and intellectual tools for the student. Often, in fact, he is better fed, warmed, and tended by the mere mechanical operations of the university plant than he could be at home or in the society he is likely to enter. The four years spent in laboratories, shops, dormitories, and clubhouses constitute the period during which

are shaped wants and ideals that endure a lifetime. This extra class room influence clearly enough is not molded by the teacher; it is the college president and the college benefactor who aggregate the great advantages into a new world which is a realm of fresh aspiration and of revelation. Whether he be a technical, a medical, or a business student, the environment is his wherein he may consciously enjoy himself while he is being moved upon unconsciously by social, moral, and religious agencies.


Culture in a great university is a product, not so much of the class room as of the environment; it is sustained and handed down intact, not by a prescribed curriculum, but by social imitation and by school tradition. If this be true, then the function of the teacher and the content of his courses may safely be subjected to modifications that shall meet present needs and the conditions of their satisfaction. Strong motives to work are the primary necessities of the student who is thrust suddenly into surroundings of beauty, ease, incentives to enjoyment and abundant facilities for study. His knowledge should be of the world in which he is to live, and but secondarily of distant civilizations; the past should be studied to secure a better understanding of the present. The tone of the teacher must change to correspond with the present day ideals of education. His topics should be the world that is and not the world that was; he must inculcate the precept of a regular life and the economy of energy demanded of active business men. He must make the student live for the future rather than in the past. He must advocate discipline, work, and simplicity instead of expanding wants.

This ideal, however, if applied generally to the college curriculum as it is now arranged, would radically change the content of the courses. At present the first year—often the first half of the college course—is used to teach language and to remedy the deficiency of preparatory work. The time so devoted is relatively too great because the equivalent of that discipline may be attained in other ways. An excellent model for commercial education may be found in the plan that has been evolved by the technical schools. In their original form, technical courses began with the junior year, leaving the first

two years free for the study of language and other required college subjects. Gradually, however, this preparatory work has been reduced in quantity until it has practically disappeared from the more rigorous four year technical courses. Experience has proved that such preparatory drill has little real utility and that good habits of work are not inculcated by it. Most schools, therefore, give hard technical courses in the first year and find the morale of the students improved by the discipline.

Commercial and technical courses must, however, differ in their treatment of mathematics. The basis of the work of the engineer lies in mathematical knowledge; but it is by no means fundamental in the activity of the business man. Increasing differentiation of occupation in large industries has separated the commercial, or sales department, from the engineering, or production department, and two distinct classes of men are employed in them. The engineers plan the shops, arrange the details of construction, and decide on the cheapest and most available methods of manufacture. The goods produced are turned over to men who know little of the methods and details of construction and manufacture, but who are familiar with business conditions in the world's markets and with the problems of finance and credit. The mental processes and the activities of one of these groups of men are distinct from those of the other group. An engineer must solve problems that demand a long train of reasoning and exact calculations. The builder of a bridge must calculate the weight and size of each part, know its cost, and measure the strength and durability of the structure; but the price at which the bridge ought to be sold depends upon many other conditions that rapidly change and cannot be determined beforehand. The salesman must be—not a long reasoner but a rapid one. The chain of involved thought in the sale of a bridge is unlike that necessary to its construction.

The education of the business man has to do with a thousand little things that constantly repeat themselves and not with a long series of facts each depending on its predecessors. He must be skilled in perception rather than in reflection. His thought must be quick and instinctive. He must perceive a



few simple relations among complex confused facts and keep cool and firm when others yield to excitement and surprise. Clear thinking under these conditions is less the result of serial problems in higher mathematics than the issue of the miscellaneous examples to be found in the old fashioned arithmetic and the first book of geometry, where elementary principles are combined in a thousand new ways. The business man needs mathematics, but it should be taught through the fresh, vigorous handling of elementary problems and not through the complex serial thinking that text books now emphasize. An excellent discipline is also given by accounting and mental arithmetic. But still better is the training in clear thought obtained from the study of economic principles and of economic geography. Geography is physical science as it exists in the complex relations of environment. It is the complement of the science of the laboratory. Economics is mental science as it is manifested on the market and in the shop. In it is to be found material that drills the prospective business man in quick, resourceful, mental movement because the apparent confusion that overlays its principles is like that which involves business. When knowledge of the wants, desires and instincts of men acquired by economics is combined with the knowledge of nature, of races, of places and conditions gained by geography, the foundations of business are made plain and the fluctuations of the market become explicable. The business man is an economist and a geographer; when he has been given the discipline they yield, he is also a clear, quick and productive reasoner.


The freshman year should place the student in direct contact with his environment—physical, economic, social—and teach him how to utilize its component parts. The work of the preparatory years should cease at the college threshold, and the young man should enter upon new subjects that demand fresh thinking and the content of which can yield both discipline and training. The second year should emphasize mental processes so that he can avail himself of the principles discovered in the first year's work and apply them in practical affairs. Two such years will change the viewpoint of the student, waken enthusiasm for work, and by giving him the

mental attitude of a business man, will help him to elucidate the world of affairs. The last two years ought to be both more general and more specialized. The business man must be broad, for he touches at some point the social, economic, and cultural problems of his time. He should not use his first two years of college for elementary work and then compress himself to the routine tasks that prepare him for his future career.

A man should know his business before he knows the world. Otherwise the diverse influences of his environment will pass through his mind without being vivified in his thinking, harmonized with his plan of life, or utilized in his experience. The interpretation of his cultural surroundings should be accomplished by means of selected courses pursued during the last half of his college life. If the university term is to be shortened, take away the first year and not the last, because as a senior the student meets the ablest teachers and is admitted to their most inspiring lectures. Let the environment exert its influence during the first years while the boy's preparation for his career is progressing; and do not narrow the horizon in the last two years by an intense specialization that will result in efficiency at the cost of a restricted intellectual growth. He needs specialized work, but he also needs to be helped in his interpretation of the new cultural experiences coming to him.

The constant tendency to give the courses which formerly were reserved for the later years of college to the less mature students of the earlier terms shows on the part of educators a greater confidence in the ability of young men to grapple with difficult problems. Geometry a century ago was a senior study at Harvard; now the high school lad has shown his ability to master it. History and politics have also gradually moved downward until they are included in the common schools.

The downward movement of studies can be carried farther with better teaching, improved text books, and greater facilities for study. Many high schools already have excellent commercial courses and they will no doubt be rapidly extended through the general system. There will result a reorganization of the high school that will adapt itself to present needs.





If but one foreign language should be required, history and politics can be properly amplified and a place be made for one year of commercial studies. The student who enters college with such an equipment, and with an interest in work roused in him, could not only complete a thorough technical education, but could also find time for other studies which would give him some perception of the nature of the complex problems of civilization. Give him this complement to his technical work late in his course and he will choose wisely and appreciate its cultural values.

An added necessity of postponement lies in the truth that new ideals of conduct as well as a new content of his studies must be presented. Those instilled to-day belong to a primitive world dominated by military rule; those of the future will be efficiency, economy, generosity, and service. These new virtues are a better antidote to greed and selfishness than those of the old morality. Efficiency overcomes nature's obstacles instead of natural human foes; it glorifies tact and skill above brute force. Saving is the renunciation of the present in favor of the future and so hands down to posterity greater benefits than the valor of ancient days could win for us. What has valor left us but ruined cities and desolated regions? What greater things can we leave posterity than capital to relieve toil, to beautify life, and to spread culture? Sacrifice is regenerated when transformed into service. In the members of a saving, serving group the good qualities of sacrifice are called forth without its old suffering and losses. Generosity is greater than sacrifice, for it is the enrichment of him who is helped by those whose efficiency enables them to aid without renunciation. This emphasis of industrial ideals must first come from the teacher. It is for him to be the embodiment of the new spirit until the poet, the orator, and the historian, breaking the bonds of tradition, relieve him of a task that is more theirs than his. Where the teacher leads they will soon follow. The poets of old sang of battles and heroes; to-morrow they will dwell on security, fidelity, co-operation, and above them all on generosity—for who is the hero but he who excels in generosity?

Of this new industrialism we may well be proud. It extends civilization, diffuses culture, and arouses new enthusiasm in the teacher. The college has stood for culture and for science; it must now stand for efficiency. To educators it seems less worthy to stop waste, to increase economy and to improve mental and physical adjustments than to investigate, to discover, and to cultivate. They sacrifice much in order to be scientific; and they delegate to inferior teachers the training for active life. Yet efficiency is our gravest industrial lack. Should not an education that supplies this lack be as ideal as any other? Yet even business men underestimate its importance because they confuse it with other advantages. We call ourselves an efficient nation because we can produce cheaply and abundantly. It is true that American industry has the advantage of natural resources, that we are an energetic people, and that no other race throws as much vigor into work. But vigor and resources are not efficiency; they are no more than the crude material out of which efficiency arises. We waste resources, we do not husband them. We exhaust energy in direct ways that crush obstacles instead of surmounting or avoiding them. After all we are a nation of bunglers who often dissipate and destroy where we should economize and utilize. We are aware of this when we have work done for us or watch others do it. Shall we cover truth with praises of natural resources and American energy, or shall we lift means to the level of the ends we seek? Education has to do with means as well as with ends, and the idealization of the one should be as complete and vivid as that of the other. Then normal schools, technical schools, and commercial schools will rank with schools of culture or of science, and their teachers will hold themselves well in the van of progress beside men of science and the promoters of culture. Efficiency and economy are great ideals whose import we are only beginning to realize. We should love them; we should strive for them; we should build them in the standards of the nation and in the characters of its people.

## THE EDUCATED MAN AND THE STATE.

BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT.

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No one connected with the government of the United States in any executive capacity can fail to see that the government of this country is passing rapidly into the hands of educated men. The population of the country at this time is approximately 80,000,000 people. The number of college trained men is perhaps less than 1 per cent of the population. From this small percentage, however, are filled a majority of those legislative, executive, and judicial places of the general government which have to do in any large way with shaping its policy and determining its character. Not only in the ordinary positions of the government service is this true, but the government is calling more and more frequently upon the educated man for the expert service for which his training is supposed to fit him, and this not only in the relation of scientific experts, but in all other directions in which the government seeks the advice and the assistance of trained men.

On the other side of the Pacific a commission of five American citizens has undertaken the most delicate, the most difficult, doubtless the most thankless task in the establishment of civil government to which any group of our citizens has ever devoted its unselfish efforts. It is a significant fact that a majority of that commission are college professors.

The presence, in constantly growing numbers, of educated men in government service means also the displacement of an increasing number of poorly trained men. It is the old story of the untrained against the trained man, and to-day the world recognizes that the day of the untrained man has gone by. In the service of the government, as in all other fields where in-

telligence and skill are factors, the educated man is displacing from the higher places the one who has no training or who has a poor training. Whether wisely or unwisely, whether for good or ill, it may be accepted as a fact that the government of this country is passing rapidly into the hands of the educated man. It is a matter of the highest practical importance to inquire whether the man who is coming into this power is worthy of it, and whether the training which he has received in the college or in the technical school is given with any purpose of fitting him for this trust.

Before approaching this question it may be well to call to mind the attitude of the government of the United States and of the state governments toward higher education and toward scientific investigation.

Notwithstanding the crudeness of our legislation, it is still a fact that congress and the state governments of the United States have been generous in gifts to higher education and to scientific work. The gifts of the general government have come from the sale of public lands. To the separate states has been left, heretofore, the power to lay taxes for the support of institutions of higher training. It is difficult to bring together the data for a trustworthy statement of the value of all these gifts, but they aggregate an enormous amount. At the present time the federal government is devoting millions annually to the work of the scientific departments of the government. At the very beginning of organized government in Massachusetts the question of education was one of the first with which the state concerned itself. The principle of state aid to higher education, then recognized, has been since that time accepted by the general government and by every state government. In New England, Harvard and Yale and other foundations of higher learning are now dependent upon private endowments, yet almost every one of these has at one time or another received state aid. Harvard was in reality a state institution, having received from John Harvard only \$4,000 and 320 books. And while the more generous gifts to New England colleges have come from private sources, they have never hesitated, in time of emergency, to come before the representatives of the people and ask for

assistance. These petitions have never been disregarded by the state. The American republic may fairly claim to have adopted and to have followed out Macaulay's motto, "The first business of a state is the education of its citizens." In no land and in no time has the state responded so quickly and so generously to the demand for higher education as in the United States of America during the last half century.

If this aid had been rendered by an individual, if one could imagine the spirit of the whole people, both state and national, incarnated in a personal intelligence which should take cognizance of the obligations of those whom the state had befriended, I can imagine that one of the most direct questions which such an intelligence would address to those who direct the education of the youth would be, I, representing the whole people, have given you freely of my national domain, the heritage of the whole people. I have founded and supported colleges and universities and technical institutions. What direct return has been made to me for this assistance, and have those who control the training of the youth kept in view their obligation to me and the dignity and the needs of my service?

The question is a perfectly legitimate and perfectly fair one. And, while it is easy to answer it in generalities, it is not so easy to give a reply of that definite sort which shall lead somewhither. The subject is too large and has too many ramifications to be discussed on this occasion in full. Perhaps the best I can do is to call attention to the importance of the inquiry itself and to the obligation which exists for a definite, full, and, most of all, an honest answer. In addition, I shall endeavor to point out certain directions in which, to my thinking, the ends of the government have been well served in our system of education, and certain others in which, it seems to me, we need improvement.

It seems to me that it may be stated as a general result that the state (using that term to characterize both the general government and the state governments) has been well served by the institutions of higher learning. It can be shown satisfactorily that in the main these institutions have not only served the general purpose of the diffusion of knowledge among

men, that they have trained men in such a way as to make them more effective in the pursuit of their own fortunes, but also that they have given back to the state men well trained to serve it. There can be no question that, judging by the general result attained, the expenditures of the state for higher education are justified by the result, and that the harvest which the state is to reap from its investment has only begun.

Notwithstanding this general outcome, there are certain directions in which the state may reasonably demand additional results. The state represents, as does no other agency, the whole people; and, in considering the obligations due the state and the best method of discharging them, we must remember that the institutions of learning are attempting to serve, in the most direct and at the same time in the broadest way, the whole body of citizens.

One thing which the government has a right to expect of those educated in the higher institutions of learning is a decent respect for the service of the state. I am sure I express the sentiment of all men of serious purpose who have stood in executive places in Washington when I say that there is no greater source of discouragement to those who are honestly striving for good administration than the facility with which good and honest and intelligent men will ascribe the worst motives to those in government office.

There is a feeling—and it finds expression perhaps more often in our institutions of learning than elsewhere—that, although a man may be perfectly honest the day before he goes to Washington, he is to be suspected of any crime the day after; and the discouraging part is that the record of a whole life of consistent devotion to duty is no defense whatever against the most sensational accusation. Again and again a man of pure life and of high purpose, who has accepted a post under the government, discovers with infinite pain and surprise that the silliest charge against him is accepted, not only among the idle and the curious, but by those upon whose support he had most counted. This tendency is not peculiar to our time or to our nation. It is part of that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin—a kinship as universal as it is detestable. One can not think of the failure to discrim-

inate between the dishonest few and the honest many, of the courage brought to failure by well nigh universal suspicion, of the unmerited pain, from Washington's day to this, inflicted by the careless judgment of men's motives, without recalling the words of Edmund Burke: "It is very rare indeed for men to be wrong in their feelings concerning public misconduct—as rare to be right in their speculation upon the cause of it. I have constantly observed that the generality of people are at least fifty years behind in their politics. There are very few men who are capable of comparing and digesting what passes before their eyes at different times and occasions so as to form the whole into a distinct system. But in books everything is settled for them without the exertion of any considerable diligence or sagacity. For which reason men are wise with but little reflection and good with little self denial in the business of all times except their own."

Let me say that no man can be brought into contact with the actual machinery of our government, can mingle with the men who make our laws, who interpret them, without gaining not only a wholesome respect for the service of the state, but also a reasonable hopefulness for the future of our institutions.

So far as my judgment goes there are few conventions of men brought together for any purpose in which the average of intelligence and of honesty is higher than in the American congress. It goes without saying that its members are influenced by personal considerations, by social ties, by all the things which move men—in other words, they are human—but it is a gathering of men who honestly desire to do the right thing. It is the fashion to speak of the honesty and the intelligence of the good old days when the republic was young and when statesmen were pure, and to deprecate the decadence of the present day. Such talk is the purest nonsense. The general intelligence of the body of congress is higher to-day than it ever was, and its conscience is quite as acute. Unfortunately, the work of quiet and serious men receives little attention from the public, although these men count enormously in the actual work of legislation.

Let me illustrate with a single example. Two of the most important committees in the house and in the senate are the

committees on appropriations. Imagine for an instant the enormous number of objects for which a government spends its money. Consider the wide range of subjects which the demands for money cover. Imagine, if you can, the patience and the judgment and the honesty which are involved in holding the purse strings of the richest nation on earth, and the difficulty of deciding upon the wisdom of requests which range from the demands of abstract science to the promotion of the interests of some small neighborhood. Think for a moment what an opportunity for men who are disposed, even in the remotest way, to dishonest practices, and, having considered all these, take into account the following facts: These committees have had in their hands the allotment of a larger sum of money than was ever controlled by any body of men in any nation at any time of the world's history. The chairmen are to-day either poor men or in the possession of modest incomes made from their own exertions, and so honestly and so carefully have their duties been performed that not the slightest insinuation of wrongdoing has ever been made.

In the executive branches of the government, as well, one will find a quality of service to command respect. There are incompetents in greater numbers than one could wish, but since the civil service law has made it possible for men of education and of energy to find a career in government service, the quality of men entering it has steadily improved. And, notwithstanding the half hearted service of the few, it is true that the government receives quite as much of devotion and of unselfish service as one can find in the ranks of those engaged in private business. It is the presence of this large number of devoted and intelligent men which makes the machinery of government run smoothly and which brings out the results. That this class is growing relatively larger in the service of the general government, and that the ideals of duty which are held up before them are becoming higher year by year, no one can doubt.

The government of the United States is honestly conducted. Its condition furnishes to those who know it best the basis of a rational optimism as to the future of democratic institutions. In its service men of education should find, in



increasing numbers, careers of the highest usefulness and of the highest dignity.

Another quality of the education given to the youth upon which the state has a right to insist is its catholicity. In the matter of education the state makes no distinction. It aims to make its highest training accessible to the humblest as well as to the most aristocratic. No system of education is a good one for a free state in which the students and graduates of its institutions of learning get out of touch with the great body of their fellow citizens. Such a lack of contact between the men of education and those who lack education brings about a feeling of distrust as between men of two distinct classes. Under such circumstances the educated man is likely to lose the perspective concerning social facts and tendencies, and to become suspicious and narrow, to feel that the country is fast going to the bad, and that the advice and service of the educated man are not properly appreciated.

One of the practical results of this feeling has been that the college man has not always realized that he was to take his place side by side with the man who had no college education. He has been inclined to forget that he must expect to begin where the uneducated man begins, and that his education is not a mark to distinguish him from other men, but a training which ought to enable him to do his part of the world's work better than the man who lacked this training; in short, he ignores the fact that he is not one whit better and is to receive not the slightest consideration because of his better opportunity.

It is the protest against this feeling of superiority, whether real or imagined, which is at the basis of most of the objections now offered to a college education as a practical preparation for the active work of life. The feeling is expressed in the following words from the late Collis P. Huntington. In a magazine article published just before his death, entitled, Why young men should not go to college, he says: "Somehow or other our schools, which teach young people how to talk, do not teach them how to live. It seems to me, that slowly, but surely, there is growing up a stronger and stronger wall of

caste, with good honest labor on one side and frivolous gentility on the other."

In so far as this charge is true—that a college training tends to make those who receive it a class apart, and prompts them to make extravagant demands—in just that proportion is it a fair criticism of our system of instruction. We have a right to expect that the college trained man, more than any other, shall be tolerant and patient; that he shall understand, as no one else can, that truth and honesty and virtue belong to no age and to no nation, that they are the property of no party, of no sect, and of no class. And we have a right to expect that, realizing this, he shall have healthy views regarding human nature. If the college atmosphere does not encourage all this, then the college atmosphere needs quickening.

How far this criticism has been justified in the past I do not feel able to say. I do believe, however, that the college spirit of to-day is wholesome and catholic, that the men in the higher institutions of learning are in closer touch with the great body of mankind than ever before, and that men who go through college and take their places in the world do so in accordance with the rules of common sense.

But beyond all such questions, and including them all, is another in which the state is vitally interested; and this concerns itself with the quality of citizenship which our system of education is adapted to produce. This I hesitate to approach, since to discuss it is to open the whole question as to what the object of education is and what subjects should be taught to accomplish that object.

It is the old question which has been discussed for twenty five hundred years, and never more vigorously than during the past decade. However we may have improved the methods, we have certainly never been able to state the questions involved more clearly than the Greeks. Listen to Aristotle. He writes: "What, then, is education, and how are we to educate? As yet there is no agreement on these points. Men are not agreed as to what the young should learn, either with a view to perfect training or to the best life. It is not agreed whether education is to aim at the development of the intellect or of the moral character. Nor is it clear whether, in

order to bring about these results, we are to train in what leads to virtue, in what is useful for ordinary life, or in abstract science."

These are the questions which have formed the basis of discussion during the last quarter century among those interested in education, except that education for the development of character has been less talked about. Could any modern writer state the questions more aptly or in fewer words than Aristotle?

Is education to have for its object the training of the intellect, or is it to aim at the development of character, or is it to undertake both objects? And, if the character is to be developed, what are the formal means which are to be used in this development?

These questions have been asked anxiously since systems of education had their beginning. In our day they seem to have settled themselves, so far as the practical efforts of the universities and colleges are concerned, by a process of exclusion. It is tacitly assumed at present that education—like all other training—has for its end the acquisition of power. In order to acquire quickly, the whole effort in modern education is directed toward the training of the intellect.

There is no disputing that the educated man has in the world, by reason of his education, a higher potential. Is it equally true that he has, on the average, a stronger and higher type of character? Is the college man broader in his sympathies, more tolerant, more courageous, more patriotic, more unselfish, by reason of his life within the walls of a university or a technical school? Are the men who come each year in ever increasing thousands from the college doors, prepared to shoulder more than their proportionate share of the burdens of the state and of the country, or are they provided with a training which will enable them more easily to escape its obligations?

It is, of course, not easy to compare the relative moral worth of men and say that one class is, on the whole, more useful than another. But, whatever our system of education is doing or is leaving undone in the development of character among its students, the state is saying, in terms which are

becoming every day more emphatic, this: However desirable it is to train the mind, when it comes to the service of the state (if, indeed, the same is not true in all service), character is above intellect. It is vastly important to the state that her servants shall be quick, keen-witted, efficient; but it is absolutely necessary that they shall be honest, patriotic, unselfish, that they should have before them some conception of civic duty and proper ideals of civic virtue. Give me men, intellectual men, learned men, skilled men, if possible, but give me men.

This is the old story. It is the lesson which every age preaches anew to the age about to follow. Shall we ever learn it? Will it ever come to pass that in our system of education the development of character will go hand in hand with the development of intellect, when to be an educated man shall mean also to be a good man? Probably no one looks upon Plato's ideal republic as the basis for any effort in practical politics. Nevertheless, it ought to be true that civic virtue should be a part of the life and of the environment of our seats of learning, and that men, along with the training of their minds, should grow into some sort of appreciation of their duties to the state, and come to know that courage and patriotism and devotion rank higher in this world's service than scholarly finish or brilliant intellectual power.

When we look back on our own history as a nation we can but realize that in the crisis of our national life this truth has been forced home to us. In the darkest hours of the revolution it was the courage, the never failing patience, the unselfish devotion—in a word, the civic virtue—of George Washington that was the real power upon which the people leaned. In the agony of our civil war, when the fate of the nation trembled in the balance, the character of Abraham Lincoln—his devotion, his hopefulness, above all his knowledge of the plain people and his faith in them—counted more than all else in the decision. Neither of these men was the product of university training, nor did he grow up in an academic environment; but each had the training of a school where devotion to the state was the cardinal virtue. When next a great crisis comes, no doubt there will be a Washington or a Lincoln to meet it; but will he come from a university?

When Washington came toward the close of his life he thought deeply over the dangers of the new state and the necessity for the cultivation of a spirit of intelligent patriotism. As a best means for inculcating this spirit he conceived the idea of a great national university. One of the main objects of this university was to afford to the youth of the country the opportunity for acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government. The idea was a splendid one; and while, in my judgment, the need for a national university no longer exists (unless, indeed, one is needed to teach the principles of good politics), Washington's idea that the university is a place which should train not only the intellect but the character, that it is a place where the student should find an atmosphere adapted not only to the development of accurate thought but also to a wise and tolerant spirit, that in the university he should gain not only intellectual strength but also a just conception of his duty to the state, was a right view. And until this is recognized—until we bring into our college life and into our college training such influences as will strengthen the character as well as the intellect, until the time shall come that the educated man shall by reason of his training be not only more able than his untrained neighbor, but also more patriotic, more courageous, better informed concerning the service of the state, and more ready to take up its service—until such a spirit is a part of our system of higher education, that system will not have served the ends which education should serve in a free state and for a free people.

In education it is not sufficient to be merely accurate. It is necessary to hold fast to the highest ideal. Once this ideal gains control of a student's life, that student will undertake faithfully and courageously whatever duties lie before him, whether they concern his professional life, his social life, or his country's service.

## DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION.

BY VIDA D. SCUDDER.

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The separation of the working classes from the general intellectual life of the country is evident at a glance. Our formal educational system furnishes less and less of the unifying force expected from it; for in the grades in which it meets the needs of the wage earners it too often drives other people away. In college or university, on the other hand, the son or daughter of a workingman is about as rare a phenomenon as a Japanese. Both are found, both are exceptions. This fact is the more striking because our universities are far from being the exclusive homes of privilege. Everyone connected with them knows how large a proportion of students are wholly lacking in the traditions of the intellectual life. They come to us to receive those traditions, and the smaller American college, at least, is often forced to postpone the promotion of the higher scholarship to the diffusion of a general culture. But among the hungry crowds who press to our offered feast the working people are not found.

Of course we cannot expect them there, since grim necessity demands their presence elsewhere; but it is a little disappointing to find that the popular movements which expressly aim to bring what education may be to busy people at home equally fail to attract them. These movements, with their fine vitality and disinterestedness, have opened a new delight in the intellectual inheritance of the race to many thousands, but by their own confession both Chautauqua and university extension stop short of the manual workers. "University extension has not become the means of elevating so-

called workingmen," writes a representative of this admirable movement.

Nothing is easier than to acquiesce in this state of things as a law of nature. Indeed, so great is our need of a sound scholarship in America, so great our danger of intellectual cheapness, that we are almost tempted to wish ourselves less rather than more democratic; dedicated to the sound training of the few rather than to spreading our mean attainments among the many. Yet here we must draw a distinction. Scholarship is for the elect, but the powers that can scale its austere heights are not bred in a wilderness. The word culture suggests a true analogy; the wide plains whereon the race at large must live should not be brown and arid; nor is that country beautiful or good for habitation in which small plots of green are dotted in an unkempt plain, but that which presents wide and friendly stretches of fertile verdure, subdued by common human effort to common joy and need. American life must foster scholarship and culture alike; culture, if for no other reason than that scholarship may abound.

How may we share our intellectual inheritance with the laboring classes? The question presses and difficulties are many. One general truth we must face at outset and conclusion—a truth very simple, and therefore difficult of practice; in order to promote the common life, it is necessary to live the life in common.

For ignorance of this truth many an admirable educational effort is doomed to failure. Large schemes, initiated by theorists, carried out at arm's length, can never avail to overcome the intellectual isolation of the workers. Nor is it enough to annihilate material distance, while the spiritual distance endures. Almost every working class district possesses a number of educational enterprises regarded by their would-be beneficiaries with distressing indifference. Too often the neighbors refuse to frequent our reading rooms or to attend our municipal lectures. The writer well remembers carefully preparing, at the request of the city, a lecture on socialistic literature in the middle ages—and it was a good lecture—only to be confronted by an audience consisting of eight little Italian girls, two melancholy teachers, and the school janitor.

Not to seek more instances painfully near, it is known that the Palace of Delight in East London, inaugurated with such high sentiments, fails to allure those for whom it was intended, and that clerks and typewriters, rather than workingmen, avail themselves of Toynbee hall.

Many people, scandalized at this lack of appreciation, withdraw their interest in any attempt to educate the workers. But brush away delusion from our minds, and see how the aspect of things changes! Behold the benevolent philanthropist, spreading before a hunger bitten crowd tables of gleaming fruit and dainty bread, warmly proclaiming the feast free to all, and grievously perplexed that none draw near—oblivious of the fact that the invited guests are chained out of reach of the food. The chains of the working population are none the less real because invisible. Sentimentality aside, their daylight hours are held in bondage that we may exist beautifully, and that they may exist, if unbeautifully. In the evening, brains stupefied by hours spent in the deafening noise and bad air of the modern factory are hardly eager to absorb intellectual delights. Well does the writer remember the headache that ignominiously broke up her experience as a working girl, after two days' stitching from seven to six in a shoe factory. Nothing more swiftly quickens, in a fair and sensitive person, the conviction that our claims to democracy cast gibes at fact than the almost hopeless effort to bring working people into unity with our intellectual life.

We here concern ourselves, however, not with protest or arraignment, but with the healthier question, What shall we do? Putting aside the great problem of the schools—a problem too wide for discussion here—much may be learned from passing in review certain private movements toward popular education, especially those inaugurated by the settlements; most of all, perhaps, may be learned from our blunders.

The easiest and probably the most popular method of sharing our intellectual delights with working people is to gather what audience we may—usually a small one—and lecture to it. Dozens of such lectures are given every year; and anyone who has perpetrated his share in them and watched the efforts of others knows how rare it is for a lecturer really to



hit the mark. Lecturing to working people is no holiday task, to be lightly undertaken. All arts of delivery must be practiced, simply to make the voice carry across the invisible leagues that separate the speakers and the hearers.

A talk to an audience of manual workers should always be brief. An hour is usually recognized as the decent limit of time during which a man has a right to inflict his voice, his tricks of manner, and the contents of his mind upon his fellow mortals; nor, under ordinary conditions, does a lecturer dare to exceed this limit. I have known bright men and women invited to address a working class audience to come apparently without preparation, and for an hour and three quarters deluge with words their small, patient, and helpless audience.

Talk to tired people, moreover, ought to be clear cut and well put. Many a time has the writer heard an accomplished lecturer pour forth the contents of his mind in a series of incoherent sentences that trailed their bewildered length along, coiling parentheses within parentheses, and never once straightening out into grammatical completeness. "Brethren!" exclaimed Father Taylor, of blessed memory, hesitating for an instant in his fervid speech—"Brethren, I've lost my verb—but I'm bound for the kingdom of heaven!" Few latter day speakers seem equally aware of their lapses. Alas for the audience! An amorphous whirlpool of ideas is not a lecture.

Nor is it enough to avoid the prolix and the confused. One must be interesting. The Scylla of obscurity frowns on the one hand, the Charybdis of childishness surges on the other, and on one of the two many a speaker makes shipwreck. There is an obvious translation of one's theme into words of one syllable, which is an offense to any rational audience. On the other hand, many an earnest, able, devoted scholar, anxious to bring his best and choicest, runs up against Scylla with fatal results. Is he dry? He seems possessed to be ten times drier. Is he abstruse and hard to follow? Impelled, doubtless, by the sense of the large need of his listeners, the rarity of his opportunity, the sacredness of his message, he condenses his entire philosophy of history and religion into an hour. I have known a Christian scholar, inspired by fervent love for the plain people, summarize a brilliantly original

course of Lowell lectures in a rapid talk of one hour and a half. "My dear friends," said the scholar, aglow with enthusiasm from tip to toe, "it is needless for me to remind you of that with which you are all as familiar as myself—the affiliations of the philosophy of Hegel with that of the Orient." "If we can only make these ideas prevail," he exclaimed after the lecture, "our nation will indeed be one brotherhood in Christ!" Probably he was aided in his delusion by a labor leader in the audience, who, having peacefully slumbered, under a sense of polysyllabic eloquence dear to the heart of the popular orator, clasped his hand cordially, with the remark, "Professor, that was fine! that was fine!"

Avoid Scylla and Charybdis, and other necessities confront us. The man who would reach the people must be vivid, pictorial, emotional. No sham emotion, if you please. No one detects unreality more swiftly than the workers. They are emotional; they are not sentimental. But it is the experience of the writer that to no other audience can one let natural feelings have free play, and speak out heart as well as mind, with such a blessed sense of freedom and fellowship. The untrained mind, moreover, thinks in images, a little more directly than the trained; the subject which cannot be treated in the concrete, if such exist, would better be left alone. Are you treating of a sociological situation? Reduce it to terms of the individual, and talk, not of the economic man, but of John and Harry. Are you presenting a poet? Bring out directly, with no pause for secondary matters, the passion at the heart of him. A working class audience is likely to be more poetic than another, and all the poetry in you would better be allowed to come out in talking to it.

Be brief; be clear; be coherent. Be dignified; be pictorial; be impassioned. There is no use in trying to talk to working people unless these conditions are fulfilled. Are they ever fulfilled? And if so, is it worth while to spend the rare man in whom they meet on the small and shifting gatherings which are all we can hope to command?

The writer believes that it is well worth while. For granted such a lecturer, no matter what his topic—city politics, Italian art, astronomical theory—and two or three hearers will

go home with a vision to carry into their working hours. At the same time, far better ways can be found of sharing our intellectual life with the unprivileged than by lecturing to them.

For the lecturer, poor soul, comes from a distant country, to talk for an hour in a world unfamiliar to him, and then withdraws, with no means of knowing how far his language has been comprehensible or acceptable to his hearers. Only the strongest imaginative sympathy can save him from gross blunders. One might suppose that instinct would for example preserve a speaker from assigning the name of Mike to the man of straw in an economic discussion, when addressing an Irish audience, or from describing the fear of hell as a form of fire insurance, in the presence of Roman Catholics. But things like this most of us have done; and if luck or tact have saved us from giving positive offense, it remains true that any lecture delivered in knowledge of the subject, but in ignorance of the audience, must miss its mark.

Our theme again! In order to promote the common life it is important to live the life in common.

In dreams one plays with paradox; why not an interchange of social posts? Is it fair that one class should have all the outward advantages and all the inward resources too? The vision rises of men, gently born and bred, gladly yielding for a time their pleasant houses, their environment rich in suggestion, to their disinherited brethren, and performing in shop and factory part of the mechanical labor necessary to the race, while yet their spirits dwell afar, in that spiritual city of culture of which their birthright makes them free. A dream indeed! But it is no dream that sensitive people are coming to feel that a blight rests upon the inner landscape, wherein we walk alone, and from which we know our fellows excluded. To the land of invisible delights, however, only the hand of a friend can throw open the gates. It is not the acquisition of learning which we desire for the wage earners, but the enrichment of life—in other words, the extension of personality. And personality can grow only through contact with persons. Love, the one uniting force in a world of centripetal forces, must act from man to man if the distant are to be brought near.

Ten or fifteen years ago, when plans for achieving a social democracy, or for returning to it, were much mooted, one objection always raised a scornful head—the thing could not be done. Any efforts to bring rich and poor, educated and illiterate, into a common atmosphere were against nature, and therefore sure to fail. This was simple; it sounded conclusive to many people, aware what traditions must be disregarded, what constraint and self consciousness must be overcome, before they could themselves mingle naturally and pleasurably with fellow beings whose enunciation differed from their own.

Solvitur ambulando; as an answer to this objection arose the settlement movement. "The essence of good society," wrote that excellent American, Lowell, in 1847, rebuking a friend who had expressed a distaste for talk with rustic neighbors, "is simply a community in habits of thought and topics of interest. When we approach each other naturally, we meet easily and gracefully; if we hurry too much, we are apt to come together with an unpleasant bump." Settlements have not been in a hurry; they have furnished the means for approaching our fellows naturally. In their sunny atmosphere, separating traditions, self consciousness, timidity on both sides, vanish like mists of the night, and a community in habits of thought and topics of interest grows up between neighbors and residents as a matter of course. It must be confessed that we see as yet only faint beginnings of what we desire, and that the lips of the objector still murmur. Yet of the natural unity of consciousness between rich and poor, educated and unlearned, which results from simple daily intimacy, enough is seen—and has been since the world began—to enable us to fling emphatic denial in the face of that scornful Impossible.

In houses where this kind of natural intercourse is established, or expected, intellectual fellowship between people of different traditions will probably crystallize. Small groups, rarely numbering more than a dozen, will gather around some lover of art, history, literature, to share his delights. In the clubs or classes thus created the real conditions of our problem may at last be fairly studied. Here the spiritual distance

which holds a lecturer from his audience, if not overcome, may at least be measured; here the personal contact of mind with mind, so difficult in our overcrowded schoolrooms, may be attained. For years, the writer has watched a number of such groups, and can testify to their worth—a worth far wider than that of brightening the life of one individual here or there, sacred as this end may be. As one talks with a single boy or girl, week after week, light falls on the relation of entire classes, and we gain what years of theorizing would not bring us.

The chief value of such classes is less in their achievement of results than in their revelation of conditions. Difficulties in the way of full intellectual fellowship appear on every hand, difficulties small and large, absurd and grave. Some of them can be conquered; these stimulate to action. Others, under present industrial conditions, cannot; these stimulate to thought.

Let us glance, for a moment, at a difficulty of the first type—a primary question, yet never considered at all by two thirds of our admirable schemes for elevating the masses. On what ground shall we try to meet? It is painfully evident that uneducated people do not naturally like the same things as the children of privilege. Probably in Athens or in fifteenth century Florence there was no such divergence of taste. Art and letters blossomed in the open, from the rich soil of popular life, not in class greenhouses, carefully secluded from common air. That the contrary obtains to-day; that the arts such as they are form a class monopoly; and that our people at large, left to themselves, not only produce nothing good, but too often enjoy nothing good, in the way of music, art, or letters, is of course one of the significant and painful facts that are turning young artists to socialism. Meantime, what are we going to do if we wish to follow Stevenson's admirable advice, and make ourselves good and other people happy? It is a question faced by every settlement, in its recreative as well as in its educational moods. Shall we make people happy by offering what they like—cheap music, vulgar chromos, and so on? We can do this. Or shall we insist that they be

made happy by what we like—Pre-Raphaelite art, it may be, or the music of Wagner? This we cannot do, but we can spend a great deal of time in trying to do it.


The truth is that we are to attempt neither course. We are not to furnish vulgar or even inferior things simply because they are acceptable; this is immoral. Neither are we to offer recondite delights which only the select few in any class would appreciate; this is absurd. We have to discover, by very delicate experiment, the common ground, which assuredly exists in every province, where educated and uneducated can alike rejoice to wander. The thing is not easy to do, nor is theory of much avail; but it is possible. We must seek that which is wholesome, universal, and enduring, and also moderately near our natural understanding; and when we have found this, we may rest assured that if only we have sufficient tact—which is another name for love—to open the path, the weariest and most ignorant mind may find joy and healing. Supreme beauty and significance will make their way, if a chance is given them; of that we may rest assured.

Even here, of course, distinctions exist. Some great literature is almost too remote for simple grown up folk to reach. "Mercy! I could listen to that trash all night without feeling tired," was the cheerful remark of a weary labor leader entertained at a country house by a scholar's exquisite rendering of the *Odyssey* straight from the Greek. Perhaps a glimpse came to the scholar that the woes of *Odysseus* might well seem trash to one breathlessly absorbed in following the modern labor war. Boys, however, can always listen to a spirited rendering of the great epic of the boyhood of the race. As for Shakespeare—he of our tongue, our heart, our mind—where can he not establish his sway, if a friend but lead to him? Nor can one help feeling that life grows broader and brighter in a street where, during an entire winter, fresh boyish voices are constantly heard breaking into the eloquence of Mark Antony or the passion of Shylock. Sometimes one finds the universal where one least expects it. I have overheard a middle aged Swedish woman repeat with simple delight to her neighbor at an evening party:

"Sand strewn caverns, cool and deep,  
Where the winds are all asleep,  
There dwells a mortal.  
But cruel is she:  
She left lonely forever  
The kings of the sea."


In a hot laundry, where the girls stood ironing collars by the thousand through the August days, one girl, chanting Wordsworth's dew pure poems on Lucy to a little tune of her own, set all her mates to follow. "It makes it seem cooler in there," was the comment of one among them. And it is often said that you cannot interest working people in poetry! Doubtless race counts for something. The primary instinct of the Hebrews, for instance, leads rather to metaphysics. But the Celts among us, at all events, have full imaginative sensitiveness, as anyone could see who turned from a critical class of college students, languidly analyzing, let us say, *The Ancient Mariner*, to the dreaming eyes and eager if stumbling tongues of young Irish people, under the mystic spell of the same poem.

In music, Germans and Hebrews alike can often not only follow, but lead. The teacher of music in an east side settlement assures us that nine out of ten of her little pupils in the neighborhood possess positive talent, while the proportion is reversed among her pupils uptown. As regards art, the puzzle of sharing our delights is especially great, because so few of us in America have any delights to share. Few enterprises are more interesting, however, than the annotated picture exhibitions with personal guides, now sometimes held in poor quarters; while loan art collections are at least useful as showing us what not to do. Such collections also prove one positive thing; that for a Roman Catholic population the devotional art of Italy furnishes a large section of the common ground we seek. A taste for modern Pre-Raphaelites, it may be added, cannot be cultivated among them. Is the misfortune great? One curious blank spot exists in the eye of the city wage earner. Landscape, which one sentimentally presents to him as a sub-



stitute for the refreshment of nature, arouses no emotions in his breast. His first and last enthusiasm, whether in art or life, is for persons.

Large ideals grow from small endeavors; it is not too much to say that new conceptions of our national destiny shape themselves in the mind of him who enters into loving fellowship with one and another of our poor. He sees in vision the race slowly forming on our shores, composite of the races of the western world. For, whether we will or no, the Anglo Saxon is not the American; nor will he, as the centuries advance, remain on our soil in racial isolation. Too strong is that mighty impulse toward unity with which we may co-operate if we will; instincts of Celt, of Slav, of Hebrew, of Latin, as well as of Anglo Saxon and of Dutch, will throb in the veins of the Americans to be. All is process as yet; they throng to our coasts, these seeming alien peoples, bearing, unconsciously to themselves, rare gifts, for lack of which our nation suffers; we press them into exclusive ministry to our material needs. If the word Irish or Jew carries with it a suggestion from which our Anglo Saxon instinct shrinks, not wholly without reason, where lies the fault? Assuredly in the civilization that develops and emphasizes in each case the lower racial characteristics, instead of giving wise nurture to those higher faculties which might, under happier conditions, enrich the Anglo Saxon type. Have we no use, in the formation of our people, for the poetic and emotional sensibility of the Celt? For the religious passion and metaphysical ardor of the Hebrew? For that instinct toward the plastic arts yet strong in the Italian? The strength and persistence of these elements history makes plain; intelligent personal fellowship corroborates the witness of history. We, the Americans first in possession, have escaped, it may be, in a measure, the racial antagonisms and prejudices so marked in the old world; we have advanced to a negative hospitality and a reluctant toleration; but we have done no more. The nobler powers of our guests and fellow citizens we allow to atrophy and degenerate, while we profit by their mere labor force. We lose an opportunity, we make a great mistake.





It is a mistake that springs largely from ignorance; from our indolent refusal to create, by loving effort, a spiritual democracy corresponding to our outward forms. Two conclusions press themselves upon the mind. The first is sad; we realize that industrial conditions at present absolutely forbid the manual workers from entering on any large scale or in any general sense into the intellectual inheritance of the race. The second is joyful; we become aware that these same workers possess faculties even now ready to yield quick response to a wise culture, and only awaiting a wider freedom to help in enlarging and uplifting our national life. Not the laboring classes alone, but all of us, suffer in class isolation. Neither by improved educational systems, nor by personal contact on formal lines, can this isolation be overcome, but only by a genuine living of the common life, and by the social and industrial changes that must follow. Our scattered thoughts on democracy and education lead us straight to the more searching theme of democracy and society.

## EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

BY ARTHUR T. HADLEY.

[Arthur Twining Hadley, president of Yale university; born April 23, 1856, at New Haven, Conn.; was graduated from Yale in 1876 and studied later in the University of Berlin; in 1879 he became tutor at Yale and 1883-86, lecturer there; he was appointed commissioner of statistics of Connecticut in 1885, and in 1886 he became professor of political science at Yale, resigning in 1889 on his election to the presidency of the university; he is the author of Railroad Transportation, Its History and Laws, Connecticut Labor Reports, Economics, An Account of the Relations between Private Property and Public Welfare, The Education of the American Citizen, Report on the System of Weekly Payments; he is the American editor of the tenth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. The following is an address delivered at the 100th anniversary of the Independent Presbyterian church of Philadelphia.]

There are two extreme views concerning the effects of education upon public morality. One is held by the advocates of secular schools; the other is held by the advocates of church schools. This sharp division of opinion is not peculiar to America. It is felt in every country where modern education and modern thought prevail. It takes one form in England, another form in France, and another in Germany; but the underlying issue is the same in all.

The advocate of secular schools believes that good teaching will itself make good citizens. He holds that a large part of our vice is the result of ignorance; and that if you remove the ignorance you will do away with the vice. He thinks that a large part of our errors and our crimes are due to people's failure to recognize the consequences of their acts; and that if you can inform them of those consequences you can check the tendency to crime in its beginnings. He believes poverty and shiftlessness to be so largely due to want of knowledge that if you provide the knowledge you will do away with most of the shiftlessness and the poverty.

Up to a certain point all this is true. There is a vast quantity of shiftlessness and vice due to ignorance; a large quantity of error and crime which would be prevented if the source of error could be rendered harmless at the outset. But though you can thus remove some of the moral evils under which we suffer, you cannot by so simple a means remove

them all, nor even the major part of them. The root of lawlessness lies deeper than mere ignorance of consequences. The chief source of crime is moral perverseness rather than mental deficiency. If you improve a man's intellectual capacity without correspondingly educating his moral nature, you are likely to change the direction in which his criminal or vicious instincts seek their outlet, rather than to destroy those instincts themselves. When you teach a man to write you make him less liable to commit larceny, but you make him much more liable to commit forgery. When you teach a man political economy and law you lessen the temptations and opportunities for acts of violence, but you do not lessen those for acts of fraud. Few of us who have looked into the statistics of education and crime are optimistic enough to deny that they are quite disappointing. The improvement due to the removal of illiteracy amounts to something; but it does not amount to so much as we should like to see, or as was promised by the early advocates of our public school system.

The opponents of that system often point to these statistical results with ill concealed satisfaction. They say that such consequences are just what you might expect from any system of purely secular education. They would have the training of the intellect supplemented by a special system of religious training, which should teach the pupil to use his knowledge for the service of God and the benefit of his fellow-men. If they had to choose between the two, they would regard the religious training as more important than the intellectual, and would prefer schools where the knowledge of the teachers was defective or inaccurate but the religious principles good, to those where the knowledge of the staff was better but their orthodoxy less sound. They look with grave apprehension upon the spectacle of free citizens trained in the knowledge of many things which may prove of use to them individually, but not trained in those ideas of religion and morality which have been rightly regarded as essential to the safety of civilized communities.

I confess that I share some of the apprehensions of these advocates of church schools; but I am very far from agreeing with them as to the proper remedy. I do not believe that

improvement is to be sought by substituting religious instruction for secular instruction, or by superadding one to the other as though the two were separate. I do not believe that you can prepare a man for citizenship by teaching a godless knowledge in one part of the school time and a set of religious principles in another part—any more than you can prepare a man for heaven by letting him cheat six days of the week and having him listen to the most orthodox doctrines on the seventh. I believe that both in school life and in after life the moral training and the secular training must be so interwoven that each becomes a part of the other.

In any good system of education the child learns three or four distinct sets of lessons.

1. He learns a great many facts and principles which he did not know before he went to school. This learning of facts and principles seems to most people who look at the matter superficially to be pretty much the whole of education. It is really only a very small part of it.

2. He learns certain habits of accuracy. Indeed, looking at some of the schools of the present day, I am almost inclined to modify this statement, and say habits of accuracy or inaccuracy; for in the effort to put more knowledge into the child and make the process agreeable, the teacher is prone to sacrifice that thoroughness and precision which were perhaps made the too exclusive object in the classical training of an earlier generation. Along with these habits of accuracy I should place those habits of order and regularity which are not learned out of books at all, but from the quiet working of school rules and school discipline.

3. The pupil in a thoroughly good school also learns lessons of public spirit and self devotion. He can receive these lessons from poetry and history, if properly taught—whether that be the poetry or history of the Americans or of the English, of the Greeks or of the Hebrews. He can receive those lessons from the emulation of school life, not only within the classroom, but on the playground. The good of modern athletic sports is not wholly nor mainly a physical one. Athletics, when rightly managed, give lessons in self subordination and loyalty as fruitful as those which can be received anywhere in



the world. And, wholly apart from either study or athletics, the child can learn these same lessons through his admiration of the older boys and of the masters who are doing their work well. All the moral precepts which are taught, even by those head masters who have the greatest reputation as moral teachers, are of little consequence as compared with the personality of those teachers themselves. As we read the books of Thomas Arnold or Mark Hopkins we wonder at the influence which those men had on generations of English or American boys. It is because we know only the books and not the men. The doctrines put into black and white were as nothing. The personality was everything.

I am convinced that a large proportion of our misunderstandings about our school system arise from our overestimate of the importance of the first of these three elements, and a corresponding underestimate of the second and third. That we should make these wrong estimates is not surprising. The enormous widening of modern knowledge, the recent interest in science and scientific discovery, the development of new means for the pursuit of material wealth, have all contributed to that reaction of which I spoke a moment ago against the narrowness of the old classical curriculum. We have been substituting history for literature, experimental science for deductive. We have been tending to value our teaching by the practical utility of the conclusions learned, to subordinate scientific training to technological ends; and even to say that history should become an account of the habits of the mass of the people rather than of the character and influence of their greatest men. To a certain extent this reaction was justified; but I believe that it has gone much too far, and has made us lose sight of the really excellent elements which the old education contained and which the modern education may be in danger of sacrificing. Knowledge is a good thing, and the more we can get of it the better; but if we obtain a large increase of knowledge at even a moderate sacrifice of the habits of accuracy and regularity, we have made our pupil less efficient instead of more so. Intelligence is a most excellent thing to help a man in the conduct of his own affairs; but if we strive to increase that intelligence at the sacrifice of

those things which make for idealism and public spirit we make a man a worse citizen instead of a better one, and run the risk that in the shortsighted pursuit of his own interest he may be led to ruin himself as well as his fellows.

A few years ago this danger seemed to be a very serious one. In the college electives were multiplied without discrimination. In the high school scientific and commercial courses were established on lines which were often rather unwise. Exaggerated importance was given to shop work. Manual training was sometimes used in a way which made it not so much a training as a diversion. The introduction of kindergarten methods in the early stages of school life was guided by enthusiasm rather than by critical judgment. Fortunately, we have come to a point where signs of a strong reaction are manifest. The incompetence of most of the children trained in our kindergarten is leading educators of every stage to see that the acquisition of agreeable facts is a very poor substitute for the habit of pertinacity in dealing with disagreeable ones. The experience of scientific experts proves that when a laboratory degenerates into a shop it loses most of its value. Our college graduates of recent years find that indiscriminate election of studies has meant intellectual dissipation. In short, we have learned that the sugar plums of education do not furnish a strengthening intellectual diet. Under these circumstances we find a tendency to go back to the standards of earlier years. I do not mean that we shall ever go all the way back to the dry bones of learning which constituted so large a part of the education of our fathers; but that we shall see, and are, in fact, already beginning to see, how the discipline which went with that old education made stronger men and women than we are likely to get under teachers and school boards, who, in their pursuit of the pleasures of the new education, forget the necessities of discipline.

If we can really get into our minds the fact that in any system of education, classical, scientific or manual, accuracy and idealism are far more important than mere knowledge, we shall do away with the force of the objection that our teaching has no effect in character building. For the formation of habits of accuracy and the development of ideals are

themselves the very essence of character building. The effect of this training tells in the most unexpected ways. I have known a great many socialists, but I never knew a single one who was really careful in his arithmetic. I have known a great many shiftless and half vicious boys who furnished unpromising material for any educational system; but my experience has been that even in these cases regularity and cleanliness were more potent moral influences than any amount of mere knowledge could become. I have seen boys and men who were selfish in all their impulses, who nevertheless responded to the teaching of ideals in the school or college as they responded to nothing else.

But if you can teach in this manner and in this spirit, the antithesis between education and religion disappears. Spelling and arithmetic, poetry and history, games and friendship, become lessons in conduct and helps to the formation of character. Under such a conception sound religious teaching is the outgrowth of good secular teaching. The use of the bible in the schools justifies itself because it does, in fact, give those lessons in conduct and character which we regard as fundamentally important. Wherever we have tried to make bible reading a thing apart from the rest of the school work, which we used because we thought that the bible was verbally inspired, we found difficulty in defending our course against those taxpayers who denied that the bible had any such special authority, and against those others who believed that there was a church authority at least co-ordinate with the bible. But when we make our religious and moral aim as broad as our whole field of instruction, and use the bible as we use any other book of poetry or history, then can we justify our principles in the face of all the world and look forward with confidence to the results which will follow the application of those principles.

To sum the whole matter up: The supposed antithesis between secular training and religious training arises from a misconception of what is involved in good training of any kind. People see the difference between bad secular education and bad religious education, and they assume that there must be a corresponding difference between good secular

education and good religious education. This is by no means the case. When a master of a public school is occupied only with teaching facts and principles, and when a master of religious institution is occupied only with teaching dogmas and observances, they necessarily work at cross purposes; but the mere learning of facts and principles is not the vitally important part of secular education, nor is the learning of doctrines and observances the vitally important part of religious education. The formation of habits of discipline and the development of ideals of unselfishness is the essentially important thing in good education of either kind. When we have grasped this truth we shall see that there is in the field of education the same harmony between the true needs of the world and the true needs of the church which exists in every other department of human life.



## EDUCATIONAL PHILANTHROPY.

BY ROBERT A. WOODS.

[Robert Archey Woods, lecturer on practical philanthropy at Episcopal Theological seminary, Cambridge, and university settlement worker; born Dec. 6, 1865, at Pittsburgh; graduated from Amherst college in 1886, after which he studied in theology and social science at Andover Theological seminary and then continued his investigations in European travel, residing at Toynbee hall, London, for six months; he is the author of *English Social Movements*, and contributes to magazines on philanthropic subjects and university settlement matters; he is the editor of *Americans in Process* and *The City Wilderness*.]

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Philanthropy has corrected its mistakes in large measure by taking to itself the motive of education, and, nowadays, every sort of philanthropy which is worth anything endeavors in all its undertakings to secure an educational result. Not only that, it endeavors more and more, as all wise systems of education do, to put itself in a position to learn what the need is. The teacher must kneel before the child, must learn first of all from the pupil, in order that he may safely and effectually instruct the pupil. Educational philanthropy is educational and has educational value because more and more it gives a great deal of time, takes a great deal of pains, in order to find out the actual conditions in which the people live who need to be influenced and helped.

Mr. Seaver has pointed out very clearly that the problem of educational expansion is first of all a financial problem. In educational philanthropy that financial problem is gradually being met by the concrete demonstration that comes from results. A very interesting study has been prepared by the Institutions Registration Department of Boston. This presents the statistics for juvenile arrests during ten years. It shows that during those ten years the number of juvenile arrests decreased in a proportion varying from twelve to twenty per cent. The statistician who has prepared these tables gives a tentative explanation for the decrease. He says it has resulted in the first place from wiser ways of dealing with neglected children, and in the second place from the manifold efforts which are now being made

throughout the city, to direct youthful energy in healthful channels. When educational philanthropy can present results of that kind, when the information as to those results can by a sort of vital process and motive be got into the minds of thinking people throughout the city, such people are going to see the value of an investment of that sort, and are going to be willing to pay more in taxes for carrying on the work of educational philanthropy.

A great part of the effort of those who are endeavoring to promote educational philanthropy is to explain to intelligent persons throughout the community just what the need is of new enterprise in that direction, and to explain to such persons in very concrete fashion its definite results. In other words, educational philanthropy has a mission to the educated classes quite as distinctly as to those who belong to the less privileged ranks in life.

In the first place, those of us who are interested in this method feel very strongly there must be a greater extension of effort in the way of physical education. We have now in Boston a remarkable series of public baths, public playgrounds, and public indoor gymnasiums. All of these institutions are used up to the limit of their capacity. The effort in the playgrounds and in the gymnasiums is constantly to raise the standard of instruction, and to make the opportunities of these institutions available in the fullest degree to both sexes and to adults as well as to children and young people. One very interesting use to which the gymnasiums are put is that of providing the right sort of physical training for young men who are later on to enter the city's service in the police department and the fire department. Those departments are an object of ambition to many young men in different parts of the city. These young men now find a chance such as they never had before to get the appropriate training. Since the city gymnasiums began their work five years ago the standard for the physical examination for entrance into these departments has risen nearly twenty per cent. It was formerly about sixty five per cent, it is now over eighty per cent. Here in very definite fashion is a result which the intelligent taxpayer must in due time take

increasing use in life. The task of educational philanthropy, wherever it is found, is to a very large extent that of endeavoring to fit boys and girls, during the years after the grammar school stage, for taking up some definite industrial career.

Another significant aim of educational philanthropy is that which was suggested by Dr. Felix Adler when he said that just as there are life saving stations along the seacoast, so there should be talent saving stations along the shores of poverty. Throughout this country I believe only about six per cent of the boys and girls get beyond the grammar school. In a city like Boston, possibly as many as twenty per cent go beyond the grammar school, though that is perhaps a high estimate even for Boston. This means that eighty or ninety per cent of our boys and girls do not get beyond the grammar school. Take twenty per cent for Boston. That is, speaking roughly, the proportion of the population which may be credited to the professional and commercial classes; the working classes amounting to about eighty per cent of the population in a great city. Speaking roughly, then, the children of working class families do not go beyond the grammar school. Anyone who has worked in a crowded district in any of our great cities knows that there are numerous cases of exceptionally bright boys and girls who are prevented from going on into the secondary school on account of the poverty, or ignorance, or indifference, or all three combined, of their parents. It is certainly an anomalous situation that if a boy or girl can persevere through the secondary stage and get as far as the collegiate stage, he finds very great resources to help him on through the collegiate stage of his education; while large numbers of promising boys and girls are stopped in the course of their education at the beginning of the secondary stage. It seems to me there could hardly be any better investment of money than through the provision of scholarships by which exceptionally bright boys and girls whose parents are poor, too poor to send them through the secondary stage of their education, could be sent on through the high school. Some efforts are now being made in that direction, and there

is certainly no more interesting line of experiment for educational philanthropy.

I feel very strongly, as I said at the beginning, that it is necessary for all of us to take upon ourselves the responsibility of educating the thoughtful people in the community as to the place which education has in the building up of the community. We take that fact too much for granted ourselves, and we do not take measures to have other people understand it. For instance, in the city of Boston, with its enormous expenditure, involving enormous drain upon the taxpayers, a great part of the expenditure which comes through taxation goes to support institutions which gather up the evil results that come from a bad and bungling scheme of civilization, from an insufficient system and scheme of education. The city hospital, which is one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world, is yet rendering a service the need of which might be in part obviated. The city hospital costs more than a thousand dollars per day. We have our houses of correction, which cost \$600 per day. We have our almshouses and institutions for neglected children; we have our police force, which comes next to the public schools as an item of public expense. The question is going to be asked before long, from a purely financial point of view, whether there is not some way by which a portion of this vast outlay for the negative, superficial treatment of social evils can be cut off. In due time we shall be able to show to the hard headed taxpayer that by the establishment of public baths, public gymnasiums, public playgrounds, by experiments in the direction of educational philanthropy, a way may be found to cut off some of that expense and to relieve the city decisively and permanently of some of that burden.

But there is a far more forcible line of argument in support of these experiments in the direction of educational philanthropy. The prime source of the wealth of any country or of any city consists in the productive capacity of its people. We have been depending all along upon importing productive capacity into the city from the village, American and European, but we have got to learn some way now by which we can develop productive capacity within the life of the

city itself. It is only through a broad, thoroughgoing system of education, that will touch all sides of life and provide for all the practical needs of life, that we shall be able to develop that productive capacity. And if we can show to the thoughtful citizen that education is reaching out in order to bring to the light and to bring into full power the variety of latent productive capacity that is born into the children of the mass of the people, then I believe that we shall have an invincible argument in favor of a higher rate of taxation for educational purposes and larger appropriations for the support of educational enterprise.

## AMERICAN COLLEGE ARCHITECTURE.

BY ALFRED D. F. HAMLIN.

[Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin, adjunct professor of architecture in Columbia university; born Sept. 5, 1855, in Constantinople, Turkey; educated in Robert college, Constantinople, at Amherst college, where he was graduated in 1875, at the Massachusetts institute of technology and the Paris Ecole des Beaux Arts; since 1883 he has been connected with the Columbia university as instructor; in 1883 as special assistant; in 1887 as assistant; in 1889 as assistant professor, and since 1891 as adjunct professor of architecture; he is the author of a history of architecture, and has contributed widely to architectural periodicals and to several encyclopedias on the subject of architecture; in collaboration with others he wrote *European and Japanese Gardens*.] Copyright 1901 by The Outlook Company

A nation that has many new buildings to erect and plenty of money to spend upon them is sure to develop a characteristic architecture. It may be good or bad or simply commonplace, but nothing can prevent its being clearly expressive of the taste, culture, ideals, and capacities of the nation. The style of the new buildings will be an index of its artistic taste; the purposes for which they are erected will reveal the dominant interests and illustrate the character of its civilization.

It has been customary to speak of the pervading commercialism of American life. The towering and impressive masses of the business buildings of lower New York seem to give evidence of a triumphant materialism; the more so when we learn that fifty or sixty millions of dollars sometimes go into such structures in a single twelvemonth. But the evidence is fallacious, for when we survey the country at large it is not skyscrapers that fill our vision, but rather the homes, churches, and schools of the people. We have heard a good deal about our domestic and religious architecture, both from native and foreign critics; but our collegiate architecture has not received the attention it deserves, though not less suggestive than our houses and churches of the national progress and national ideals.

Recent foreign observers have expressed amazement at the magnitude, number, equipment, and endowments of our universities. No one, indeed, who studies the record

of recent gifts to education in this country, or the statistics of attendance upon our higher institutions of learning, can fail to be impressed with the increasing popular regard for intellectual culture. We believe that the architectural character of the buildings erected for these institutions within the past ten years indicates an equally rapid advance in the artistic culture of the nation. It is not without significance that the two most magnificent buildings ever erected in America, with the possible exception of the Capitol at Washington, are public libraries, one built by the nation at Washington, the other by the municipality at Boston; and that congress has authorized new buildings to cost fourteen millions of dollars for the two great national schools at Annapolis and West Point. In the very focus of American commercialism, the noblest of recent buildings is the library erected at Columbia university in 1897 by the mayor of the city, to be soon, however, surpassed in size and splendor by the city's own new public library; and there is in process of gradual erection in Brooklyn a superb museum building for the Brooklyn Institute, an important educational organization—a veritable palace of the arts and sciences, to cost several millions, and to be paid for out of the public funds. Let it also be noted that the people of this same city of New York, with all their reputed devotion to mammon, maintain two great universities, Columbia university and the New York university, both recently equipped with splendid new buildings; and that the city has itself begun upon Washington Heights the erection of a noble and costly group of buildings for its own City college.

The collegiate architecture of the United States represents, therefore, no small or unimportant phase of the national activity. During the past ten years it has fully shared in the general progress and prosperity. In many cases the whole aspect of an institution has been metamorphosed either by a complete reconstruction on a new site, or by notable additions to the buildings on the old site. In the latter case the comparison of the new with the old buildings furnishes an object lesson in the progress and tendencies of our collegiate architecture. The contrast is sometimes extraordinary. The

new edifices are not only more artistic in design, more monumental in effect than the old; they are also better planned, more convenient, more solid and thorough in construction, and vastly better furnished and equipped.

The architecture of American colleges has grown up on an essentially different system from the European. The typical American college or university consists of a collection of distinct buildings, grouped more or less regularly about a grassy and shady area called the campus. The original nucleus of the group was usually the chapel, flanked by two dormitories of red brick. A half dozen lecture rooms occupied the basement of the chapel. Other dormitories and recitation halls, laboratories, and a library were added as the resources of the institution permitted, and placed as the convenience of the occasion seemed to dictate—in parallel rows, or around a vast square, or in more fortuitous groupings determined by the topography. The successive additions were often wholly unrelated architecturally to their older neighbors, or even in some cases to one another, representing as many diverse styles as there were architects employed. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Brown, and Wesleyan universities, Bowdoin and Dartmouth, Amherst and Williams colleges, and half a hundred others, grew up in this way. The European conception of collegiate architecture was derived from olden monastic traditions; it was that of the cloister or quadrangle, or a series of quads, each entirely surrounded by a continuous building and entered through an imposing gateway. Such a scheme was not only foreign to our ideas, but wholly impracticable for rural colleges struggling for existence on the slenderest of means; and out of such struggling rural colleges have grown nearly all our great universities.

The new American college architecture, even in following the traditional American system of isolated buildings, seeks to secure general unity of effect. It is, of course, impossible to correct the chaos of an existing group of heterogeneous buildings, but it is at least possible to establish a definite plan and scheme to which all future additions shall conform. At Harvard the dominant note of the older colonial buildings has been followed in nearly all the more recent erections in



and about the square. Several colleges and universities have had the good fortune to be able to undertake an entire rebuilding on a new site. Trinity college at Hartford, Connecticut, was the first of these, having as far back as 1875 begun the erection of an imposing block of buildings in four quadrangles.

Only a small part of this great scheme has been completed, forming a long and imposing stretch of buildings in English Gothic style. About 1890 the Leland Stanford Junior university began in like manner the erection at Palo Alto (California) of new buildings on a comprehensive plan prepared by Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, of Boston. This was only in part realized; and the unity of the scheme has been injured by several structures designed by other hands. A few years later the University of New York moved certain of its departments to a new site at Fordham Heights, near the metropolis, and built there, from designs by McKim, Mead, and White, a group of buildings centered around a fine domical library and memorial gallery, which last has become known all over the country as the Hall of Fame. The new buildings of Columbia university, by the same architects, followed soon after, the noble Low library forming the center of the group (1895-1897); and in 1898 Mrs. Phoebe Hearst instituted an international competition for new buildings on a scale of unexampled magnificence for the University of California at Berkeley, in which the prize was won by the French architect Bénard. All of these great enterprises betoken abundant confidence in the future of the institutions that have entered upon them, a sublime reliance upon the generous support of the American people, and the determination to plan, not merely for the immediate necessity, but for expected growth, so that order and beauty may reign in increasing perfection as the years roll on. Meanwhile, many other colleges and universities, retaining the old site and buildings, have added new structures of great size, cost, and beauty. There is probably not one among our older institutions of higher learning that has not received notable architectural additions within the past few years, and in some cases, as at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania, the cost of these additions has run up into

the millions. Our medical colleges, theological seminaries, and technological schools have shared in this extension and enrichment.

The causes of this architectural activity are not hard to discover. It is not to be explained merely by any theory of a newly developed passion for expenditure, luxury, or splendor. The trustees of our great educational institutions are almost without exception men of conservative rather than radical ideas; men with a deep sense of their responsibility to the public and to the institution, and they could not command millions for display if they wished it. New buildings have become necessary simply because the new education demands resources and an equipment for which the old provision was utterly inadequate. A chapel and four recitation rooms were all that was necessary for the college of 1803. The library was amply accommodated in one or two of the rooms in an adjacent dormitory. For the college of 1905 there must be a modern fireproof library, with stack room, reading room, reference room, seminar rooms, and staff rooms; scientific buildings, with laboratories more varied and complex than our fathers ever dreamed of, with testing rooms and lecture rooms and instructors' rooms and store-rooms; a gymnasium, large and spacious, with running track, swimming tank, baths, handball courts, and what not. There must be a suitable administration building for the president, treasurer, and dean, for faculty meetings and trustee meetings, and a hall or auditorium for commencement gatherings and mass meetings. In some colleges a college commons, refectory, or dining hall is required, and the social life of the students must be provided for by a college clubhouse, or in connection with their religious life, by a special building for the religious associations and the college Young Men's Christian association. As the college grows, moreover, the dormitories must be extended or multiplied and the new recitation halls added. Thus architectural expansion and renovation become an absolute necessity wherever there are life and growth in a college, as in any other public institution that partakes of the real life of the community.

Thus made necessary by the main force of circumstances, these new buildings show also the influence of the changes in public taste and in the standards of architectural and structural excellence which have taken place in the past few years. Not only have the architects made great progress in their mastery of the resources of design; their clients, the governing bodies of the colleges, have made an equal advance in their conceptions of what sort of buildings the colleges require. Alike in artistic design, in solidity of construction, and in elegance of finish and equipments, the buildings erected during the past ten years far surpass anything that this country had ever seen before in the way of collegiate architecture.

The cosmopolitan and eclectic quality of our taste is fitly expressed in the variety of architectural style which these modern college buildings display. From 1880 to 1890 the powerful influence of Mr. Richardson showed itself in the general adoption of the Romanesque style, freely treated; but more recently other styles have found favor. The majority of the newer buildings are either Colonial (or Georgian, as some prefer to call it) in style, as at Harvard; or in the late Gothic style of many university buildings in England, to which the name of the English Collegiate style is often given. This style lends itself readily to the treatment of long ranges of buildings of moderate height, and permits of a more picturesque variety of mass and sky line than the Georgian, and the more stately Classic and Renaissance styles. It has been handled with great skill by Cope and Stewardson in the handsome buildings of the dormitory quad at Pennsylvania university, in Blair Hall at Princeton, and in the new edifices of Washington university at St. Louis. The Vanderbilt Hall at Yale, by C. C. Haight, and the very picturesque and impressive group of buildings on Washington Heights for the College of the City of New York, by Mr. G. B. Post, are also excellent examples of the style. Mr. Potter's new library at Princeton approaches closer to the perpendicular Gothic in style, but is unmistakably scholastic in character.

The Georgian style is less picturesque, more restrained, more domestic perhaps, and better suited for detached buildings than for continuous ranges and quadrangles. It has

very naturally been adopted at Harvard for all the newer buildings, which thus harmonize with and emphasize the quaint flavor and historic associations of the older ones. The Harvard Union, the new gymnasium for Radcliffe college, the Randall dining hall, and the new gates are examples of this style; while the law school at the University of Pennsylvania, the new library at the University of Virginia, and Barnard college at New York, represent other applications of it. McKim, Mead, and White's library and other buildings at Fordham Heights for the New York university are also in a version of the Georgian style, modified by a touch of Italian classical stateliness; and in the more important group at Columbia university these same architects have apparently tried the experiment of establishing a strong contrast between the Low library—a magnificent Greco-Roman building of creamy Indiana limestone—and the half Georgian departmental buildings of red brick with stone finishings.

A third style requires notice—the Italian or Classic style, not because it is in frequent use, but because of the importance of the few cases in which it has been adopted. The most conspicuous instance is the University of California, the School of Mines, and the open air auditorium. The new buildings for the Naval Academy at Annapolis, by Ernest Flagg, are in this stately and monumental style, which permits of greater majesty of scale and splendor of effect than the other two.

But whatever the style of the newer college buildings of the United States, they are all in one sense thoroughly American; for their designs have been studied with a special view to meeting American requirements, and the success and merit of the result have depended, not on the style label it wears, but on the ability, skill, and taste with which the architect has solved the specific problem presented to him in each case. In general, this ability, skill, and taste have been of a high order. It is to be regretted that in this respect the Roman Catholic colleges have, as a whole, remained so far in arrears. There is hardly one among these institutions to whose credit can be set down any really notable and highly meritorious work of architecture in recent years.

The complete list of important buildings erected within the past ten years for American colleges, universities, theological seminaries, and other institutions of the higher learning would make an impressive showing. These buildings represent an enormous financial investment; and it must be remembered that this physical growth means also a great increase in expenditure for maintenance and administration. All this is significant of the disposition of the American people to increase their financial investment in the higher education—an investment not only in buildings, which, taken alone, might mean mere luxury, but in all that for which the buildings stand, and to promote which they were built—science, literature, religion, and intellectual culture of every kind. The American scholar may well point to these edifices with pride, assured that a hundred years from now many of them will still be looked upon with admiration, as monuments of the intellectual and artistic enthusiasm of an age too often accounted as wholly given up to a selfish materialism.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS.

BY WILLIAM MARTIN AIKEN.

[William Martin Aiken, consulting architect for Borough of Manhattan; born April 1, 1855, at Charleston, S. C.; educated in the University of the South and Massachusetts institute of technology; began practice as architect in Cincinnati, 1886-95; in 1894 was connected with the Cincinnati Art academy as instructor for one year and the following year was appointed supervising architect in the United States treasury department, remaining there for two years, when he removed to New York and practiced architecture with Bruce Price until 1901, when he was chosen as consulting architect for the Borough of Manhattan. Some of his notable enterprises were connected with the design and erection of the government exposition buildings at Atlanta in 1895, those at Nashville in 1897 and those at Omaha in 1898; the mint buildings at Philadelphia and Denver and many post office and custom house buildings scattered throughout the country. The following is from the *Engineering Magazine* and is published by special arrangement.]

There has been no period in the development of this country (certainly not since the agitation of the slavery question) when the people at large have taken so deep an interest in national affairs as now. And this interest is not exhausted in questions which are decided by the ballot, or by the executive, judicial, or legislative branches of our government, but extends to every department which in any manner contributes to the material welfare, importance, or dignity of the country. This general and sincere appreciation of public affairs is certainly one of the strongest proofs of the stability and permanency of our institutions.

There is under the control and direction of the secretary of the treasury in Washington, an office which supplies a certain stimulant to this interest, since with it originates, and through it is materialized, the local habitation for many government officials in every one of these United States—namely, the office of the supervising architect.

It has been constantly asked why this bureau of construction should be a branch of the treasury department. It should be remembered that our country has not always been so large, so densely populated, or so well acquainted with its own resources, as it now is. When, in 1853, Secretary Guthrie undertook to organize such a bureau and made application to

the secretary of war for a scientific and practical engineer, to Captain Alexander H. Bowman, of the engineer corps of the army, was entrusted the duty of providing for the repair and preservation of twenty three buildings belonging to the government and of supervising the designing and construction of fifteen more for which congress had made appropriations. In those days the duties were confined mainly to the making of plans and estimates for customhouses, mints, and marine hospitals, and the general superintendence of their construction. Since customhouses were intended for the use of collectors of the government income, and mints for the coinage of currency, it was but natural that the secretary of the treasury should control their erection. By degrees the construction of appraisers' stores, postoffices, courthouses, and quarantine stations have been added to the duties of this office. In 1863 the annual report was made by Mr. Isaiah Rogers, who seems to have been the first officer to subscribe himself as supervising architect, and who previously had been employed to design the customhouse at Boston and certain other government buildings.

As the duties of the office have increased, so also has its organization been extended, subdivided, and combined, until now there are eight divisions. Two of these (the law and records division and the accounts division) are under the special charge of the chief executive officer. The others are known as: (1) the engineering and drafting division (where the designs are made and the construction laid out); (2) the computing division (where estimates of cost and specifications governing construction are made); (3) inspection and materials division (which issues instructions to, and receives reports from, superintendents, and directs the movements of special inspectors who visit buildings in progress of construction or repair); (4) repairs division; (5) photographing division (which reproduces by photographic process the drawings required for works of construction or repair); (6) the tracing division.

Thus it may be seen at a glance that, although the general public is under the impression that the majority of the employees of this office are draftsmen, as a matter of fact these constitute less than one third of the total number employed,

the execution of the work requiring the services of many stenographers, typewriters, and other assistants. In addition to the files of correspondence, reports, specifications, contracts, deeds (of property purchased), etc., there are also files of all kinds and descriptions of materials submitted by contractors for use in the construction of the buildings, such as stone, marble, brick, terra cotta, tiles, wood, hardware, plumbing fixtures, etc. The initial movement toward the erection of a government building is the framing of a bill by one or more members of congress from that section of the country in which the proposed building is to be located, which bill is formulated upon information received from officials of the various departments contemplating the occupation of such building, together with the approximate estimate of cost furnished by the supervising architect. This bill then undergoes the scrutiny of the committee of public buildings and grounds, as well as that of the appropriation committee of both houses, after which, to become a law, it must receive the approval of the president.

A portion of the appropriation is set aside for the purchase of the site, and, after it has been purchased, and the title has been approved by the department of justice, and the property rights have been vested in the government, the preliminary drawings and estimate are prepared for the signature of the secretary of the treasury, postmaster general, and secretary of the interior, whose approval is required by law before any working drawings can be made. The supervising architect has, in the meantime, visited the site, in order that the design may conform as accurately as possible to the requirements of the purposes for which the building is intended, and that the environment may be given proper consideration. The influences which now chiefly affect the character of the design proceed from causes climatic, geological, and historical—relations which have always existed between local conditions and logical design, even from prehistoric ages and in every part of the world. Thus, within that portion of our country to the north of the isothermal line extending from Cape Hatteras, and to the east of the Missouri river, the roof is generally given a steeper pitch, to shed more quickly the heavy rains or snows. For buildings situated to the south of that



mysterious North Carolina line, and to the west of the Missouri river, roofs of gentler slope are indicated, the rainfall requiring less consideration and the radiation of the sun's rays more. Those who have visited Italy can appreciate the importance—yes, the absolute necessity—of sunshine for the enjoyment of life in that land, and in Our Own Riviera, Mr. Howells has indicated with his inimitable touch many subtle distinctions produced by differences between the climatic conditions of the Atlantic and Pacific slopes. In the government buildings at San Francisco, and at Portland, Ore., this has been recognized in plan as well as in elevation, the former having a U-shaped and the latter an H-shaped plan, with no interior light shafts, all rooms receiving light and air directly from without.

The legend, *E Pluribus Unum*, indicates that we are a nation of many peoples, and this sentiment is given proper weight in the historical influences affecting the design of our national edifices. The postoffice and courthouse in San Francisco contains the old Spanish records of a state or city whose early history has a decidedly Spanish flavor. Not only the primitive adobe buildings still seen and used, but the very name of the city, proclaim the origin of Pueblo, Colo.; what, then, more logical than the adaptation of the Spanish style of architecture to the buildings in these cities?

In a publication entitled *The County of Saginaw*, by Wm. H. Sweet, is the following statement: "The first settlers in the valley located therein in 1815; they were mostly of French origin or half breeds; their avocations chiefly trading with the Indians, hunting, and fishing." The postoffice in Saginaw is accordingly French in style, the corner towers being suggestive of the defensive features of frontier life, while the carving of the pinnacles and finials was suggested by the fauna and flora of the neighborhood.

Among the earliest settlers of Paterson, N. J., were a number of Flemish silk spinners and weavers, so that, in the course of time, the silk industry grew to be a very important one; the postoffice in that city, therefore, suggests, in the style of its architecture, the nativity of its first substantial citizens. In the buildings at Pawtucket, R. I., and Lynn, Mass., the direct business methods of the citizens, with the

## ARCHITECTURE OF GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS 283

academic training of so many communities of that section, have been recognized in designs suggestive of the training which architects receive from the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, the most notable school of architecture of the present day, where many of our foremost architects have studied. The mint buildings at Denver and Philadelphia have called for special treatment, the conditions governing each being entirely different, not only from those of other government buildings to be designed and erected at this time, but from those governing the other. These two (and the Portland building) are fortunate in fronting upon wide streets, thus permitting the use of broad and simple motives. A mint, being a money making building, can well afford to assume somewhat of an industrial air; yet in these two instances (being situated on the border line between the residential and commercial sections of their respective cities) the surroundings have received special consideration, with a result which may be discernible. Since it is always the desire of the supervising architect to specify such materials as are generally acknowledged by a community to be suitable for building in that locality, the design for the Denver mint recognizes in its motive the sturdy, robust Florentine palace with the possible use of the local red (or gray) granite or the red sandstone, which would show to advantage in the clear atmosphere of Colorado.

The traditions of the old mint and of certain other buildings in Philadelphia have called for the manifestation of a more classical feeling in its successor, leading to the consideration of a white marble exterior. In the Buffalo post-office, courthouse, and customhouse—the largest and one of the most important buildings designed in this office within the past two years—a mottled pink granite is being used, as the best material obtainable within a reasonable distance; and a rather free treatment of early Gothic has been chosen as the style, being capable of greater refinement than the Romanesque and of greater vigor than the Renaissance. The buildings at Madison, Ind., and Richmond, Ky., are constructed of materials well known in their sections.

It does not often happen that a government building may be consistently picturesque, but in the cases of Paterson, N. J.,

(where the lot is irregular in shape and there are considerable differences of grades), and of Clarksville, Tenn. (near which runs a broadly sweeping river with precipitous banks in an almost mountainous country), the result could scarcely be otherwise.

Each one of the three influences, climatic, geologic, and historic, is often greatly modified by another and very different (but equally important) condition which always confronts the government architect as surely as it does the architect in private practice. This is the element of cost. For instance, although good building stone may be found within reasonable distance of such cities as Lynn, Mass., Saginaw, Mich., or Pueblo, Col., yet the appropriation authorized by congress for the construction of the building may not be sufficient to warrant the use of stone for the entire building, and the architect must adapt his plans to the funds available. The resulting modification in the selection of material, such as the use of brick with trimmings of stone or terra cotta, must affect the character of the design, and, as granite is a more expensive as well as a more intractable material than sandstone, limestone, marble, or terra cotta, the character of the material selected must be given due consideration in determining the choice of a style.

It is hoped that the preceding pages are indicative of the fact that the government is not a mere machine, a soulless corporation, but, in each of its many departments, has at heart the accomplishment of the greatest good to the greatest number, and is, as in the days of Lincoln, a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

## MODERN SKYSCRAPERS.

BY ARTHUR W. FRENCH.

[Arthur Willard French, professor of civil engineering at Worcester Polytechnic institute; born July 13, 1868, at Battle Creek, Mich.; studied at Dartmouth college and graduated from Thayer school of civil engineering in 1892; the same year he went to Colorado as the civil engineer for the Platte river paper mills, Denver, remaining there until he became assistant engineer in 1894 for the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf railway until '95, when he was made assistant professor of civil engineering in Thayer school of engineering connected with Dartmouth college; in 1899 he was chosen professor of civil engineering at Worcester Polytechnic institute; he is co-author of Stereonomy.]

A bird's-eye view of any large city in 1880 would show an almost dead level of roofs, above which only an occasional spire or dome of church or public building rose to relieve the monotony. The last 25 years has brought great growth to all large commercial cities, and the demand for space in the business center of such cities has increased far beyond the supply. With the area of desirable land covered, the only alternatives were to go either up or down. With characteristic energy, the American engineer has gone both ways. Rentable space far below the surface is procured by novel methods, and the only limit to the space which he will furnish skyward seems to be the laws or ordinances of the cities.

If the old methods were attempted in the construction of buildings reaching to a height of 20 stories, the walls would have a thickness of from six to eight feet. Such a waste of space where land values reach, as in the case of the land on which is located the American Surety building, corner of Broadway and Pine street, New York, \$267.67 a square foot, or at the rate of \$11,500,000 an acre, and the yearly rental a square foot is often \$10 or \$12, could not be tolerated. Moreover, in many locations, the great weight of such walls could not be carried by the soil, even if the foundations were spread to cover the whole lot. To avoid walls of tremendous thickness, and to reduce the weight of the structure, a stronger material than masonry must be used to carry the loads. The steel frame was the solution of the difficulty, and its adoption

at once carries the designer from the realm of traditional dimensions to the exact work of the bridge engineer.

In the pure type of what is called cage construction, the walls play no other part than to serve as curtains, and their thickness need be only sufficient to be self supporting for a short height, and to furnish means for holding window frames in place. So radical is the change in the construction that the steel framework of columns and girders not only carry the floor loads, but they are made to carry the weights of the walls themselves. The construction of all steel framed buildings has been made possible by the excellence and cheapness of production of structural steel, and the skill of the engineers engaged in the design and construction of framed structures and foundations. The feasibility of occupying such high structures has been due to the perfection of mechanical and electrical devices, among the most important of which is the high speed passenger elevator.

The tall office building has been described as a bridge set on end with the trains running up and down within it. As in the design of a bridge, the loads which are to be carried must be known, so in these structures the designer must determine definitely the weights of all the materials which enter into the makeup of the building, and also the average weights of all the furniture, fixtures, and people who may be located within the structure. The weight of solid materials in walls, floors, partitions, columns, the weight of windows and their counter weights, doors, pipes of all kinds must be listed. No item is too small to be considered, the bolts and rivets in the steel work, the nails in the woodwork and the paint or finish on the walls are not omitted. Not only must the gross weight of the building as a unit be known, but the distribution of these weights must be determined. The engineer can tell you the total weight from the roof down to any particular floor, the weight on any single story, the weight from any one room, and also the weight upon each column and beam.

The live loads, as they are termed, are made up of those objects which may be moved, and include office fixtures, small safes, all materials which a tenant would store in his rooms, and the tenant and his visitors. The live weights cannot be

listed with quite the same accuracy as in the case of the dead loads, but experience shows the safe limits which will not be exceeded in structures devoted to particular kinds of business. With the weights well determined as to amounts and location, the engineer can proceed to proportion the beams, girders, and columns for their work.

Another class of forces besides these due to the direct weights, must be given attention in the tall building. These are due to the wind. In buildings of moderate height, in which the walls are relatively heavy and thick, the wind forces are of little moment. But with buildings projecting high into the air, and often set on bases of small dimensions, the effects of gales are great, and give rise to trouble for the designer. The bridge engineer may preserve the rectangular shape of his structure by means of diagonal members, which are effective and economical, but the building engineer must not interfere with the window and door spaces, corridors and other features.

The frame, if supplied with such connections as to make it a complete structure, with provisions for wind stresses, is called a cage, and such construction is termed cage construction. If the framework serves only to carry the vertical loads, and depends on the masonry walls for its stiffness against wind forces, it is termed skeleton construction.

In both classes of construction the walls may be only curtains, and may not assist in carrying any weight beyond that of their own weight for a single story, but in the skeleton type the walls are generally a little thicker than in the cage type, this thickness being furnished to provide side stiffness against wind forces.

The frame of a skyscraper consists of numbers of steel columns, spaced about the perimeter of the space to be inclosed, and also in the interior of the space. These columns are connected by steel girders, which serve to support the ends of the steel floor beams. The columns are continuous from their foundation to the roof, but have varying sectional area, greater at the bottom, where the column must carry the weight of all the stories above, and decreasing in area toward the top as the weights are less.

The provision for wind stresses and vibration in a horizontal direction is made in a variety of ways. The walls may furnish the stiffness, the connection of the deep girder may be made to supply the stiffness, knee braces may be used between the column, and the girders, or diagonal members, reaching from the top of the column to the bottom of another column of the same story. Upon the framework of steel, the building material which is seen, the flesh of the structure is placed.

The walls of any story are built on properly prepared beams, and may as well be put in for the upper stories first, as to start with the lower story. Sometimes the first two or three stories have walls which are self supporting from the foundations, and only the walls above these first stories are hung on the steel skeleton. The materials used for outer walls are stone, brick and terra cotta. They need be only thick enough to support themselves for the small rise of one story, and furnish proper hold for window frames. The design of the spandrel section or the supporting beams for walls, with their ornamental features, such as belt course, the window sills, and caps, and cornices, is one of the most intricate details in the steel design.

The floors are usually constructed in the form of arches to fill in the spaces between the floor beams. The materials may be brick, terra cotta or concrete. Hollow tile of terra cotta is the most commonly used on account of its lightness, strength, and fire resisting qualities. Brick is seldom used now, because of its great weight. Concrete and concrete reinforced with steel, is an available material, which is fast gaining a place in such work. Partitions are usually thin curtains of hollow tiles or of plaster on expanded metal, or other wire meshed materials.

Up to this point no combustible material has been mentioned as entering the construction of the tall building. The common method of finishing the structure, which has been described, is to embed in the concrete which is used to level up the arches of the floor system, strips of wood to which a wooden floor may be nailed. Window and door frames, window sash, doors, wainscoting and other finish of a room

are also generally of wood, although the floors may be of cement, or tile, and the other finish may be metal or stone, such as marble or onyx.

Experience has shown that the wood of the common office interior, together with the combustible contents of an office, will furnish sufficient fuel for a fire which will readily heat exposed steel work to such a degree that it loses all power to carry loads, and buckles and drops the structure. To prevent such disastrous results, it is the practice to completely cover every piece of steel with a coating of tile, brick or concrete. A visitor to a steel cage office building may not see a single steel member of any description.

Radical as have been the changes in the methods of constructing the superstructure of the skyscraper from the methods formerly employed, and interesting and imposing as the towering mass of materials so ingeniously fitted together in the visible structure, there are as startling feats of skill and as radical improvements in the foundations which are buried from the sight. To support the skyscraper with its enormous weights upon the relatively small ground space that can be occupied, is the problem of the foundation expert. Curiously enough the modern skyscraper was developed in a city having a very inferior kind of foundations. In fact the reason for the first skeleton type of building was the low bearing power of Chicago soil.

W. L. B. Jenney, a Chicago architect, in 1883, was requested to prepare plans for a 10-story fireproof office building, to cover a lot 100 by 135, and was requested to provide large amounts of light in all the rooms. The requirement of large windows, and consequently narrow piers, coupled with the low carrying capacity of the soil, led the architect to the adoption of the iron frame, with thin walls, supported on the frame. Self supporting and load carrying walls would have required a spread of foundations to meet the low capacity of the soil, about 3,000 pounds per square foot, which would more than have covered the lot. The design of Mr. Jenney contained every essential feature of the modern skyscraper, and may stand for the first example of this type of buildings. Much has been done since the Home insurance building was



built by Mr. Jenney, in the way of perfecting details, and many engineers and architects have contributed from their skill and ingenuity.

For the support of the great loads upon the columns of the tall building there are three methods available in the preparation of the foundations. First, if the solid rock is within easy reach, say at a depth of not over 50 to 80 feet, it is generally deemed best to reach the rock with the masonry. The modern methods of penetrating through the soil, often water bearing and unstable, and economically placing the structure on the rock, are generally those in use on the foundations for large bridges. The pneumatic caisson has been developed, until its use has become familiar to all. It consists of a bottomless box or diving bell, within which men may excavate the earth, thus allowing it to sink under its own and superincumbent weights. The caisson is supplied with compressed air, which is maintained at a pressure high enough to exclude the water and sand or other fine material that would otherwise rush into the space. Connecting the space within the caisson and the outer world at the surface is a vertical shaft, so supplied with air tight doors that the men or materials may enter or leave the chamber without losing the pressure within the caisson. As the caisson sinks the masonry upon its roof is built up and kept above the level of the surface. When the rock has been reached, and has been properly cleaned and prepared, the chamber is completely filled with concrete, thus providing a continuous column of masonry from the natural ledge to the foot of the steel column. If the caisson be constructed of timber, there is the thickness of the roof of the caisson, which intervenes between the concrete within and the material on top, but as the timber is below water it will never decay, and the permanence of the foundation is assured. If the caisson is of steel there will be a layer of steel in place of the timber. Pneumatic caissons were first used in the construction of foundations for tall buildings, in the work on the Manhattan Life Insurance company building in New York, and were adopted because of the impossibility of obtaining enough strength

by the use of piles, and because of the danger of undermining neighboring buildings, if open excavations were attempted.

Second, piles may be driven through the soft materials to rock or other hard materials. This method is much in use for structures of moderate height, and has been used for tall buildings, but may not be possible in sufficient numbers to carry the loads. Where piles can be placed in the requisite numbers, and where they will always be submerged in water they form a permanent and satisfactory foundation.

Third, when there is no solid underlying strata of rock or other hard material within a reasonable depth, the desired supporting power may be provided by so spreading the base of the piers as to load the soil within its carrying capacity. The Chicago foundations are necessarily of this type, and the Chicago engineers and builders have led the world in the skill with which they have floated their great structures. Their skyscrapers are literally floating upon rafts of concrete and steel beams. The liquid of their pond is not water but clay, and its buoyancy is known to be safe at about 3,000 pounds a square foot.

Before stable conditions are established, under loads, the structure will settle through certain distances; the amount of the settlement depends upon the intensity of the pressure on the soil. It is, hence, very essential that every column shall have its foundation spread to cover such an amount of space that the load per unit of area shall be the same as that of all other columns in the building. The amount of the settlement of Chicago office buildings may be several inches, usually two or three, and is of little importance, provided it is uniform at all points.

An observing newspaper man once discovered that a tall Chicago office building did not line up with a window shade cord past which he was looking. Investigation proved the tall building to be leaning about seven inches out of plumb. This fact, when properly leaded in the daily paper, probably made a greater impression on the minds of the people than it did upon engineers. It certainly was not a desirable feature, but was of slight moment as affecting the safety of the structure.

Besides the important engineering works in the foundations which are hidden below the street surface, much valuable rentable space is often provided below the surface. As an illustration of the insatiable demand for room and the expedients used to respond, may be mentioned the case of the underground space in the New York stock exchange. The bed rock was at about 60 feet below the street, and all the earth was removed and the space surrounded with water tight caissons. It is only necessary to mention that these deep cuts must be made within a few inches of neighboring buildings, whose foundations may be far above those of the skyscraper, and that these buildings must not suffer from any disturbance due to the new work, to bring to mind the very difficult problems which are being met by the foundation expert.

A novel kind of construction has been completed for the Ingalls building in Cincinnati. The building covers a ground space about 50 by 100 feet and has 16 stories, with a total height of 210 feet. It is of monolithic concrete construction, columns, walls, girders, beams and floors all being made of Portland cement concrete, in which are embedded bars of twisted steel, to re-enforce the concrete. This form of construction has been developed in the last few years, and is now being applied to a great variety of work, this building being the first tall office structure to which it has been applied. The merits of the reinforced concrete are its durability and fire resisting powers. The embedded steel will not rust, the concrete will increase in strength with age and probably no other material save brick, can withstand fire so well.

The wonderful feats of the structural engineer who burrows deep through mud and water till he feels the solid rock, and thereon erects his combination of steel and masonry, adding story to story reaching upward to the dizzy heights where the last rivet is driven, would result in a monument of little use as a commercial structure but for the rapid advancement in all branches of engineering, through which it is possible to provide the conveniences and comforts demanded by the occupants of such a building.

A modern tall building shelters as large a population as many a prosperous town can boast. Many of the largest buildings count a fixed population of from 3,000 to 4,000, and the number of persons using the building each day may safely be three times those figures. Considering only the necessities of life, these people must be supplied with heat, light and water. If the conveniences which have almost become necessities are counted, there must be added ventilation, telegraph, telephone and messenger service, high speed, elevators, fire protection, police protection, and a force of men and women to keep the small city in a clean and wholesome condition.

A visit to the most interesting part of such a building will reveal the source of power which is everywhere in evidence about the structure. Below the street levels are the boilers and engines from which are driven the waterworks of the town, for it must be remembered that no city pressure will raise water to the 20th floor. The electric light plant in supplying the thousands of lights of the place, the hydraulic or electric motors are running the express and local trains up and down the length of the vertical tracks in the elevator wells, the heating and ventilating fans are forcing hot air, if it be winter, or artificially cooled air if it be summer, to every room and corridor. Powerful fire pumps may be found ready at a moment's notice to pour their streams on parts of the building far beyond the reach of the ordinary fire streams.

Even the sewerage and drainage systems of our cities have a counterpart within the walls of the building, for much of the drainage of the building is so far below the city's sewers that it must be pumped out of the place.

The diversity of industries represented within the structure enable a man to obtain nearly everything needed in his daily life. All means of communication are available to him; he may lunch in the restaurant on one floor, take out a life insurance policy on another, generally on about half the floors, cash his checks at his bank on a third, and put his valuables in the safe deposit in the basement. He may consult his physician, his broker or his lawyer, visit his tailor or shoe-

black, or barber, buy his cigars and papers, theater tickets, and flowers and box of candy for his best girl. In some recent buildings he may stay at work to such a time of night that he may prefer to avail himself of the rooms provided rather than to go home. Such an enumeration of the services rendered within a skyscraper is perhaps the best way to bring to the mind the bewildering variety of mechanical and electrical equipment now common to all up-to-date office buildings.

A question of great importance to the engineer who designs and builds these structures, to the capitalist who invests his millions in them, and to the thousands of occupants who intrust their lives within the walls, is the question of permanence and reliability. Will they countenance the fact that they should soon be removed and replaced, or will they suffer from some hidden disease which will undermine their constitutions and end in sudden and fatal collapse? Are they liable to sudden destruction from external and accidental causes?

The hidden disease to which they may be liable is that of rust. Should the steel frame suffer from this in some vital and well covered part, the result would be such a disaster as the world has never seen. No skeleton or cage constructed building has yet reached an age which proves conclusively the exact behavior that may develop in these skyscrapers. Repairs and removals of some of these structures may be said to have shown little rusting of the steel, and methods of covering and protecting the steel in an effective manner are now in use.

Sudden collapse from faulty design and construction is not to be expected. The people are accustomed to stake their lives so constantly on the honesty and skill of engineers, that too little thought is given to the marvelous freedom from accidents due to lack of skill and care on the part of constructing engineers. The recent collapse of the frame of the Darlington hotel in New York, due to a woeful disregard of widely known principles of construction, shows that honesty, efficiency and authoritative inspection are demanded in such works.

Fire is a terrible enemy to all structures, and the tall office building, fireproof though it may be called, is not proof against this destroyer. Steel will not burn, but it will soften when exposed to the heat of ordinary fires to such a degree as to lose all its strength to hold up its loads. Stone will not burn, but it will crack, splinter and disintegrate, especially if water come in contact with its heated surface. Terra cotta will withstand a high degree of heat, but may fail by expansion if it is confined between ridged bounds; brick of the common kinds resists heat in a satisfactory manner, and Portland cement concrete also behaves well under great heat.

If a building be constructed of any of the above mentioned materials or combinations of such materials, and no inflammable contents be placed within it, there would be little trouble from any fire from within such structure. If, however, it is subjected to fierce heat from close surrounding combustible buildings, it might succumb and wilt. A masonry chimney, properly lined with brick, is about the only absolutely fireproof structure that can be mentioned, but it would not command a high rent for rooms within it.

The finish of a modern office, floors, trimmings, window casing and sash, door frames and doors of wood, and the combustible contents, such as desks and carpets, will always furnish enough fuel for a fire of such intensity as to completely ruin the tenants' property and often leave but a small salvage on the building itself.

The usual type of fireproof building is fairly successful, if its fire resisting power will hold the fire in the locality where it starts. This allows the fire to be fought, the occupants to escape and restricts the damage to a small amount.

The substitution of metal trimmings, granolithic or other incombustible floor surfaces and steel desks and other office furniture, may do much to decrease the risk from fire which may originate within the structure. The risk from without has received too little attention, and the recent disastrous fires in Baltimore, Rochester and other places furnish striking examples of the non fireproof character of some of our best buildings.

The weak points are the openings which must exist in the form of windows. Much may be done in the way of providing wire glass, metal sash, shutters and automatic showers of water past the windows, but it is to be feared that absolute safety will hardly be obtained.

The results of the Baltimore fire may be summed up briefly by saying that in general the frames of the tall buildings were little injured, so no collapse occurred. The wall coverings, when of stone, suffered much from spalling, but brick stood well. Floors of terra cotta were in many cases much injured, while concrete showed up well.

Many people consider the skyscraper as a nuisance which should be prohibited by law, and there are many considerations which appear to support their claim. The single tall building does not much affect the light and air of its neighborhood. Its owner is able to receive vastly greater returns from his land than would be possible with the ordinary height of building. The tenants of the tall building have good light, plenty of fresh air and often a magnificent view. These advantages are lost when the first structure is surrounded with buildings of a similar height, and the streets and lower stories are likely to be very dark, gloomy and unsanitary. The effects of the tall building upon the value of property is to raise the value of the land, and this demands the tall building, if it is to earn returns on its high valuation.

There were in one spring in New York, 64 skyscrapers in process of construction. The effects of the multiplication of these monsters is already felt, and attempts are being made to place restrictions on the height to which structures may go. If a street running east and west were lined with buildings 300 feet in height on the south side, and if the street were 100 feet wide, the sun would shine on the north sidewalk only a few days in June in the latitude of New York. From September 21 to March 21, no sunshine would strike lower than the fifteenth story.

It seems plain that private rights to utilize as much of the space vertically above the land as pleases the owner, should be surrendered to the city, in the interest of all the people who must use the streets. In some cases restrictions have been

placed on the height of buildings, notably in Boston for the Copley square district, where 90 feet is set as the limit, and court decisions have caused one building to be lowered by one story.

Another feature of the movement toward very high office buildings is that of crowding the streets with the population which transacts business in these buildings. Many of the older cities were troubled with congested streets and inadequate transportation facilities when the business centers boasted only five and six story buildings. These centers are now adding three and four layers equal to the original layer, and are not increasing the street widths.

The result is that elevated railways, surface railways and subways cannot be provided fast enough to move the people who demand transportation. It may be that the limit of the streets to hold the people and of three and four story transportation to move them will set the only limit to the number and height of skyscrapers.



## THE AMERICAN HOTEL.

BY WALTER A. WASHBURN.

[Walter A. Washburne, author and editor; born South Framingham, Mass., 1874; educated at Chauncey hall, Boston, and the Chicago college of law; assistant editor of the World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated weekly; became news editor of the Omaha News in 1901; contributor to newspapers and periodicals.]

Within the last few years the hotel has become a feature in American life which has started sociologists to figuring and caused real alarm among those who dread the effect on the American family. The modern American, especially in the first few years after marriage, has become prone to take up his residence in a hostelry where he can be provided with all the essentials of an ideal home and without any of the worry and care attendant upon launching out into an untried sea, possibly with a bride whose housekeeping knowledge has been gleaned only from a few superficial lectures by her mother.

Undoubtedly, hotel life is not conducive to the raising of large families, and this is the point which has caused the sociologists alarm. It has been clearly proved, however, that no one realizes this drawback better than the American himself who most is interested, and as the family grows the almost invariable tendency is to establish an independent household. Comfort and every other consideration are sacrificed by the average American parent to the welfare of his children and it is not to be supposed that hotel existence would be permitted to stand in the way.

The term American hotel no longer represents the idea it originally did of a hostelry where the guest pays a fixed sum for rooms, meals and service, but it has come to be synonymous with perfection in accommodations. The old American plan, so far as the larger hotels are concerned, is no more, and the European system of charging for rooms and for each individual dish served in the dining room has taken its place. It was discovered that in the larger and costlier houses it was cheaper for two persons who could occupy one room to accept the European plan.

The hotel business in the United States, especially in the larger cities, has become, like almost every other large commercial enterprise, greatly specialized. The successful landlord, although his hotel is open to any guest who is respectable, nevertheless aims at the identification of it with some special clientage. This tendency is almost universal, although of course, it is easier of accomplishment in New York and Chicago than in the smaller cities.

The new development in American hotel structures and management began about fifteen years ago. It owed its inception to two or three disastrous hotel fires. These caused a demand for structures which would resist anything short of an earthquake or an explosion of dynamite. Fireproof buildings on the skyscraper order became the rage and it was difficult to supply the demand, which capitalists and hotel managers were quick to perceive.

Then began a competition among hotel owners to build and equip the costliest, most luxurious and the safest hotel structures. The result has been the establishment of American hotels where the wealthy can find luxury, and perfect service and artistic cooking; but, at the same time, the traveler of moderate means can find accommodation without too great a drain upon his pocketbook.

It costs immense sums of money to maintain these skyscraper hotels where service that is unobtrusive and yet instant and perfect is maintained and where the latest and best developments of American methods are the rule. The ideal of the management is the anticipation of every wish and the gratifying it with a minimum of display. What would appear extravagance, for instance, in waste of food is regarded as a necessity, for the highest grade of service cannot be maintained under any other method than that which in former days would have been considered an inexcusable prodigality.

The manager of a modern skyscraper hotel, costing anywhere from \$3,000,000 to \$8,000,000, and having a capacity for between 1,500 and 2,000 guests, occupies much the same position relatively, as the commander of an army. The hotel manager, besides being responsible for his guests and for the hotel, is commander in chief of a force of servants and em-

ployees that is almost, if not quite, as numerous as the guests. He must have a knowledge of every important detail in the work of the many departments that come under his supervision, and his knowledge must be of a quality to enable him to decide instantly problems that constantly arise to confront him.

The modern hotel—as represented by the new St. Regis, and the Waldorf-Astoria, in New York, or the Bellevue-Stratford, in Philadelphia—is conducted upon a system that extends upward and through every department, holding them together, with the manager at the head of all. Each department has its own head, to whom the employees of that department are responsible and who, in turn, holds himself answerable to the manager of the hotel.

Of the various departments of a hotel the one that naturally takes precedence is the kitchen. It is situated, usually, in the first of the two basements of the hotel and takes up a large area of the floor space.

The chef, whose salary in the largest hotels ranges from \$6,000 to \$15,000 a year, is in charge of the kitchen. In one hotel taken as an illustration the chef receives a salary of \$10,000 a year and has charge of a corps of seventy five assistant chefs, who work in three relays of twenty five. Altogether, 1,500 men and women are employed in the kitchen and its various departments, who attend to the preparation and serving of the food.

The sub-chefs attend to the preparation of the various dishes, and an idea of the work that is done beneath their supervision may be obtained by a glance through the following list, which represents, only in part though, the supplies that are used every day in this hotel: Twenty thousand rolls; five thousand loaves of bread; twenty five barrels of apples; three hundred chickens; five hundred gallons of milk; six hundred dozens of eggs; five hundred pounds of roast beef; six hundred gallons of soup; five hundred gallons of coffee.


Flour, butter, sugar, salt, and the other commodities—to say nothing of the delicacies—that are required daily to feed the guests of this hotel would tax the utmost capacity of half a dozen ordinary grocery stores every day.

The uninitiated visitor to the kitchen who expects to find a room resembling, on a larger scale, of course, the kitchen of an ordinary establishment with a white capped, white aproned cook presiding at the stove, would receive a severe shock upon entering this hotel's kitchen.

Along one entire side of the room, which often extends the entire width of the basement, is a row of broilers and great ovens, heated for the most part by steam. Here the cooking is done. The sub-chefs who preside over the ovens are not worried over the cooking of bread, rolls and other staple articles that are prepared here. The bread is cooked by clockwork, after being kneaded and mixed by special machinery. The same is true of the rolls, etc. The six men whose task is to prepare eggs, in any of the one hundred and twenty ways in which they may be cooked, worry not at all over the boiled eggs. They are placed in a little steel dipper, that sets above the boiling water. A mechanism, run by clockwork, is adjusted and the dipper, bearing the eggs, drops them into the water. At the end of the minute or two minutes or for whatever time the eggs were ordered boiled, the clockwork stirs the steel dipper and the eggs, boiled to the second and no longer, bob out of the water ready to be placed upon the dish and served.

But machinery, useful as it is in much of the work of the kitchen cannot be brought into play everywhere in this department. Two skilled workmen spend their working day making ices. Another puts in his time shelling peas—and he is a busy man. Four experts attend exclusively to the preparation of ice cream. Three specialists in their line of work do nothing but slice cold meats. There are twelve men in the fish and oyster department, one of whom opens oysters all day. In the salad and fruit departments a dozen employees—all women—prepare the salads and their dressings. One woman is in charge of the salad dressings and, when it is remembered that there are sixty varieties of fruit and salad dressings, with every one of which she must be familiar, it will be conceded that hers is not a position to be regarded lightly.

The washing of dishes comes under the classification of the work connected with the kitchen. Machinery has been



called to aid in this, however, to such an extent that practically all the work is done by machines. The soiled dishes, brought from the dining rooms by the waiters, are piled within the room upon a long table. Four men sort them, placing the large dishes together in one pile, the small ones in another, and the silverware—knives, forks and spoons—to one side. The silverware is washed much the same as are the dishes but the scouring process is by hand—each piece being handled separately.

The dishes to be cleaned are piled one upon another in a large machine in which is a mixture of lye and soap dissolved in hot water. The machines are agitated, and, with the water constantly changing, the dishes are thoroughly cleansed. Steam is forced through the machines and the dishes are heated until they are perfectly dry, when they are removed and placed in heating ovens, where they are kept at a certain temperature until needed again. More than 65,000 pieces of china are washed every day in this manner.

Among the most important of the employees connected with the kitchen, after the chef and his sub-chefs, are the foremen. There are ten of these, sharp eyed, keen young men, whose duty it is to pass upon every dish taken from the kitchen, see that it has been properly cooked and served and stamp the waiter's check with the amount, preventing in this manner any overcharge, intentional or otherwise, upon the part of the latter.

Associated in a way with the kitchen is the wine cellar of the hotel where the wines of old and costly vintage are stored. Several expert employees are necessary in the operation of this department. The head of the wine cellar usually is a man whose knowledge of the fruit of the grape includes every brand and the hotel sends him across the ocean every year to replenish the stock. The wine cellar of the hotel in this description contained wines and champagnes valued at \$35,000.


The engine room of the hotel occupies the second, or sub-basement, fifty feet below the ground. Here is the motive power that runs the establishment. One of the features of the department is a private electric lighting plant that sup-

plies the current for the nineteen elevators in the hostelry and the illuminating power for the twenty five thousand electric lights in the building. It also furnishes power to the washing and other machines in the kitchen and to the electrical devices used in the house. Seven large boilers, consuming one hundred tons of coal every twenty four hours, and fed by automatic stokers that carry an endless stream of coal to the fireboxes, are in constant use to run the dynamos, the ventilators and air purifiers and the icing machines.

The refrigerators, besides making the fifty tons of ice used daily in the hotel, freeze four thousand pounds of game, fish and meat, and refrigerate six hundred carafes of drinking water. The air purifiers perform the double function of attracting to themselves out of the air drawn into the hotel and forced through the rooms, every particle of dust and every disease germ, as well as regulating the temperature of the air before sending it through the room. This device—a new invention—makes it possible to heat the air for any room to the temperature desired by the occupant, so that the guest may order a temperature of seventy degrees during the day and fifty five or sixty degrees at night with the same certainty of having the order filled that he has when he orders his dinner.

There are one hundred and fifty men employed in the power room, including the chief engineer and his several assistants, who look after the various machines. All of them are experts in their departments and understand thoroughly the operation of every piece of machinery in their charge. There are duplicates of every machine, which are held as reserve in case any machine should break down—thus obviating the possibility of interference with the other departments or inconvenience to the guests.

A perfectly equipped laundry is part of the hotel. It is located in the first basement, on the same floor with the kitchen, and here the linen of the hotel, as well as that of the guest, receives attention. There are six ten foot mangles in this department—each capable of taking in a full width sheet, smoothing as well as drying it, and making ironing unnecessary. All the washing is done by machinery and the larger pieces, as sheets, tablecloths, napkins and aprons are ironed



in the same manner. The rest of the ironing is done by women, who work in three shifts, with electrically heated irons. Many thousands of pieces of cloth are sent through the laundry every day.

The head of the laundry is subordinate to the housekeeper, who has charge of the chambermaids and women working in the building, outside of the kitchen. The housekeeper, through her assistants, one to each floor of the hotel, is responsible for the condition of the rooms and their furnishings and is one of the important members of the staff. She has charge of the storeroom where the supplies for the rooms are kept and hands out the linen, towels, soap and matches for every room in the building. Ranking above her is the steward of the house, who buys the furniture for the hotel and the various rooms, keeps it in repair and acts, under the manager, in the capacity of general overseer of all departments.

One of the important duties of the steward is the making out and approving of requisitions for supplies for the building, which run into the thousands of dollars every week. Heads of departments report to him of the breakage to articles for which they are responsible—and in the housekeeper's and chef's departments this item of breakage alone amounts to a round sum weekly.

Requisitions are turned over to the manager, who, after giving his approval to such expenditures as he deems necessary, places them in the hands of the buyers, a staff of whom is maintained by the hotel. The sole duty of these men is to buy the supplies for the kitchen and other departments in the open market, and to get them at the best price—but above all, to get them. The price, after all, is a minor consideration.

Of all the officials of the hostelry the one that perhaps comes into closer and more constant contact with the guests than any other is the clerk. His office is on the first or main floor and the constantly arriving and departing patrons take up not only his time but require the attention of four assistant clerks. One of these presides at the register where the guests sign upon entering. A second keeps account of the vacant and occupied rooms, while the other two divide their time between preparing accounts, answering questions and doing

the innumerable things that the guests demand. Attached to this department are the bellboys, under command of the bell captain. They are the guests' errand boys and guides, and the hotel employs two hundred of them, working in three relays of eight hours.

The telephone and the pneumatic tube systems have made many changes in hotel life. Eighteen years ago a magazine writer suggested the possibility of connecting the clerk's desk with the rooms by telephone, but even he failed to anticipate the present day when each room not only is connected with the clerk but with the outside world by long distance telephones. Portable telephones, brought to the tables in the dining room make it possible, by inserting a plug attached to the telephone into a socket in the table or the wall, to telephone with ease and dispatch anywhere that the modern telephone reaches.

Bellboys are no longer necessary to send a card to the apartments of a guest. It is placed in a carrier which is shot through a pneumatic tube directly to the floor on which the room is. There an attendant removes it and takes it to the proper room.

Nothing that effort and wealth can combine to do for the guests of the hotel is neglected. A telegraph office and cable station at one end of the first floor makes it easy for the guest to reach the uttermost end of the earth without leaving the building. A theater and a ballroom on the second floor provide amusement for the guests, and a performance or a dance is given every night. It is said a guest may find enough new sensations within the building to make possible an enjoyable week without ever passing through the outer doors.

The hotel is conducted on the European plan, the old style of American hotel having proved unpopular. In this house the rates range from \$3.50 a day for a single room to \$150 a day for one suite or \$250 a day for a state suite with a dining room in connection. The lowest figure includes the room and service only—not the meals.

The rooms are furnished, as is the entire hotel in all departments, with little regard to cost. The president's suite in the Bellevue-Stratford, in Philadelphia, and the royal suite,



in the Waldorf-Astoria, in New York, represent expenditures of thousands of dollars. These suites, however, usually are unoccupied and are reserved for distinguished visitors. Li Hung Chang, during his visit to New York, occupied the royal suite at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The modern hotel of the present day was unknown ten years ago. Improvements even yet are being made, and the most enthusiastic and optimistic prophet who had the temerity to picture the hotel of ten years hence might fall far short of the actual.

## THE THEATER IN AMERICA.

BY OTIS SKINNER.

[Otis Skinner, actor; born in 1858, at Cambridge, Mass.; during his early life he was an amateur reader and actor in Hartford, Connecticut, making his professional debut in Philadelphia in November, 1877, as "Jim" in Woodleigh, which was presented in The Philadelphia Museum; afterward he became one of the Walnut Street Theater Stock company in Philadelphia, and two years after his first appearance on the professional stage he made his New York debut in Kiralfy's Enchantment at Niblo's; following this were a succession of important roles at Booth's Theater, the Boston Theater, with Lawrence Barrett, with Augustin Daly in New York, Paris, London, Berlin and other theatrical centers for a period of five years; from 1892 for three years he was leading man with Madame Modjeska and since that time has been starring in romantic plays.]

The art of the American player has probably maintained, since the beginnings of our national existence, more or less of individuality and national character. In this it is unlike its sister art of painting, whose followers have taken largely from European masters and models. Stuart, West, Copley and others of our 18th century portraitists unquestionably owed much to the influence of London and Paris schools. Our earlier sculptors, too, sought their inspiration in the artistic fonts of Italy.

The American actor, however, has until within the past few generations found but few chances for the study of French, English or German theatrical art. I am not unmindful of the fact that foreign players have frequently visited our shores, and that American actors, and audiences as well, have had ample opportunity to observe the methods of Macready, Charles Kean, Fanny Kemble, Barry Sullivan and, later, of Henry Irving, illustrious ones of the English stage, or that Rachel and Fechter gave to our public glimpses of the best of French acting years before the advent of Sara Bernhardt and Constant Coquelin. Of German and Italian stage work comparatively little has been exhibited here until within recent times; Passart, Darnay, Haasi, Salvini, Rossi, Duse, are easily within the memory of the present generation. All of these foreigners met with admiration, and, except in the peculiar case of Macready, whose appearance in New York was the

signal for the Astor Place riots, with considerable financial success. However, until the past quarter of a century the American player saw but little of the work of his European confreres. The very fact that these transatlantic visitors came and appeared at a time of the season when his own duties forbade anything like observation and study, and that their performances and tours were of a tentative nature, leaves the influence of imported theatric art on the native player almost nil.

To be sure there were some importations of a permanent character, especially English importations. The Booths, Wallacks, Jeffersons, Davenports, Drews, were all of stock from the mother country, and generations of these noted families have added dignity and glory to our stage. The stock companies of New York and other eastern cities were well supplied with actors who had come out from England to adopt citizenship of the United States. But after all there was the spirit of the new world to contend with, and the American civilization into which all individualities become merged as readily as the Swede to-day becomes an excellent citizen of Wisconsin or the Irishman a successful New York politician. The Briton on becoming a Yankee did not change in character so completely that he ceased to be a Briton, but he fell easily into new habits and changed in degree. He had burned his bridges of school and traditions, and had joined the rank of artistic free lances, the men and women who had no theatrical aristocracy or lineage in art to uphold. He was freed from the deliberation bred of British beef and beer; his eyes, unclouded by London fogs, looked out on a world where impassivity was not regarded as the most alluring outward sign of manhood, and the repose which stamps the manner of the *Vere de Vere* not necessarily a desirable asset.

Under these conditions native talent was more of a spontaneous and weed like growth than of a cultivated nature. There was no background of established, recognized position for the theater; no record by which rule and direction could govern the development of art. There had been no patronage of the wealthy class such as had obtained in England, and no royal subsidies had lent encouragement to both actor and

dramatist as was the case in France and Germany. It is remarkable that there could have been any instance whatever of the exhibition of musical talent, but the instinct lay dormant, ready to spring into being at the first call of sympathetic interest. The rewards of the playwright were slight, and the little encouragement given the production of a national drama formed another serious stumbling-block in the path of the American player. Yet his development persisted, and under most discouraging conditions men and women of unusual equipment found their opportunity and left records of honorable achievement.

The American actor played from the standpoint of his intuitive convictions, his emotional strength, and his aggressive spirit. It was the age of the strong and the broad; of Forrest in tragedy and Burton in comedy. The performances of the women of this period were in character with its demands. Charlotte Cushman, whose *Lady Macbeth*, *Queen Katherine* and *Meg Merrilies* were companion pieces to the *Lear*, *Jack Cade* and *Metamora* of Edwin Forrest, was closely followed by the emotional interpretations of Lucille Western, Matilda Heron and Charlotte Crampton. Clara Morris was the legitimate successor to these dramatic idols of the 60's and 70's, and she wore her honors with distinction, but she has lived to see her method unplaced—laid aside in favor of the actress of the new school of suggestion and repression. These two qualities have been largely influential in moulding the work of the younger generation. The introduction of their use was not wholly welcome. Like most reforms they were greeted with frowns from the older ones, who cried out on the emasculation of art. "Repression? Bah! They've nothing to repress. Show me an emotion and I'll harness it, but when there's no emotion to harness, what then?" A new variant of an old cry; the cry of the degeneration of the stage which has been heard since the days when Thespis spouted from his cart.

But repression and suggestion had come to stay. Like some other good things they came from abroad. I'm not sure that if examined they would not exhibit the importation mark, Made in England. The effectiveness of their use was

recognized as long ago as 1870 by Dion Boucicault, surely a past master of stage craft, particularly in that department relating to the natural depiction of feeling. Boucicault bequeathed a boon of lasting value to the stage of America by his precepts and direction. One of the finest of his achievements was in the development of Charles R. Thorne, the talented leading man of the old Union Square theater. Thorne had always been a good actor and a forceful one, and had come to New York when that galaxy of talent had been brought into being under the management of Shook and Palmer at Union Square. How tenderly one's memories go back to that company: Thorne, O'Niel, Stoddart, Coghlan, Robson, Parrelle, Rankin, Clara Morris, Rose Eytinge, Fanny Morant, Marie Wilkins! The performances at this theater were golden ones to me in my days of boyish enthusiasm. But I am forgetting Thorne. I have said that he was a man of power. Of a theatrical family, he had early come under the influence of the life of the stage. I can think of no more typically American actor than he was. Handsome, manly, with the great natural gifts of voice, feeling, and expression, he had played many parts to the admiration of hosts of his followers. A few of his critics had pointed out that in all the effectiveness of his work there was much left to be desired; a notable lack of method and finesse. The magnetic charm of Thorne's acting easily bowled down his objectors; his admirers saw in him only perfection.


Here was material for Dion Boucicault. As stage director of the Union Square theater he had Thorne under his immediate eye. He started in on a campaign of general reform in the robust methods of the favorite leading man, and the results soon showed with miraculous effect. The actor's old showy effusiveness fell away and was replaced by simplicity, direct, tender, appealing and full of charm. The personality had not been lost, but was there transformed and glorified by the direction of the master, and the great talent of the man flowed superbly through the channels of nature as a river that had been reclaimed from marshes and stagnant backwaters and made to flow on unimpeded and undiverted. I can think of nothing more convincing in my memory of the brilliancy

of the New York stage than the quiet, natural, but absolutely compelling force of his Daniel Rochat in Sardou's play of that name. The play was not a success with the public, but Thorne's performance will remain a monument to our national theater.

Here was the answer ready for the croakers who exclaimed against the innovation of the natural and repressed school. American art had taken a step forward—a portentous one. It was the association of strong native ability and the shrewd sense and direction of the cosmopolite stage craftsman, the man of genius who had picked the best from many foreign sources.

The transformation in methods once in vogue is not infrequently accomplished by the individual unaided by the stage manager's guidance. The late James A. Herne, who added much excellent characterization and a number of good plays to the American stage, was once a melodramatic, over stressful actor. As years came upon him he began to reason out the meaning of stage effects and to look for their sources. He learned repression and suggestion through the very mental and artistic growth that his widening vision had brought to him. His delivery of the lines of the speech to his crabbed brother in Shore Acres, describing the death of their fisherman father was an example of unforced, colloquial and moving eloquence that never failed to bring tears to the eyes of his audience. It was an unusual effect. The story was a very sad and touching one, but he told it all gently in a slow monotone and with a smile on his lips. This might seem a trivial thing to relate, but for the fact that thirty years before Herne's time hardly an actor could be found who would have dared disobey convention thus far. Like Hamlet's actor he would have drowned the stage in tears.

The trend of our theater has been toward gentler methods. I doubt if the large lunged efforts of Edwin Forrest, though they could be set forth with all of Forrest's undeniably great genius would be received favorably to-day. Had Edwin Forrest lived in our own 20th century he would have seen a genius still, but a different kind of one.



I once asked Edwin Booth if he could recall sufficient of his father's performances to tell me if his own method differed from that of the elder Booth.

"I think I am somewhat quieter," he said.

As the art sense began to have a more definite effect on the national dramatic temperament, much of the former exuberance of style and overpower disappeared. The vital force remained but strength was conserved, not wasted.

Here then are the direct evidences of the beginnings of an acknowledged method, something that will in time crystallize into a tradition of the American theater. Such tradition exists in France and Germany and to a lesser degree in England, and to paraphrase Shylock's speech, "Tradition is blessing if men abuse it not." That this tradition will be tempered to an extent by foreign influence is inevitable. Our actors get easily to Paris, Berlin, London and Vienna where the best examples of the dramatic exhibit of the various countries may be inspected with more or less leisure by the earnest student. Then, too, foreign product is now brought to us in abundant measure. Hardly a star or play succeeds abroad that sooner or later is not made known to our public by American tours. Nor do I think that the national method once established will be in danger of becoming too heterogeneous in character. The American in acting is shrewd in his selection of the best from all sources, as the American in science has proved his discernment in taking the good wherever he could find it.

In the scope of a short article it is impossible to present anything like a detailed list of the achievements of the native player and manager. The history of the New York stage alone presents an important record which would be difficult to individualize or even to catalogue.

One of the bright chapters of New York's stage history deals with the work of Augustin Daly, than whom I can think of no more enthusiastic worker for the cause of American theatrical development. A journalistic writer, he had been early attracted to the possibilities of the theater as a means of artistic expression. He had no dramatic ancestry, no bequest of training in his chosen field, but he had an ambition, an ex-

cellent judgment, common sense, fine taste, and an almost abnormal capacity for work. He surrounded himself with a company of able and intelligent people who were sympathetic with his direction and ideas, and their co-operation made possible some of the most artistic and certainly most thoroughly American achievements of the New York stage. Adding not a little to dramatic literature by the work of his own pen, he encouraged, as far as he could find available material, the efforts of the native playwright, and sought unceasingly the brightest talent among our own actors.

He made many mistakes, but his accomplishments were of a nature to more than balance them. He met with repeated failure, but his determination to succeed always brought him to victory in the end. He was the first to present really convincing pictures of the social life of the day. He believed in handsome and elaborate stage settings, in expensive costuming and, above all, in natural and artistic methods for the players of his company.

Some of the most noted men and women of the contemporary theater have owed their success to Augustin Daly's direction.

Next to Dion Boucicault no man wrought better in the cause of naturalism and good taste. Daly was a man singularly absorbed in his work and wholly lacking in diplomacy. On all sides he met with prejudice and opposition, which he took but small pains to propitiate.

As a member of his company I recall the defiant manner in which he challenged criticism when in 1886, at Paris he planted his organization in the very center of the artistic world. The audacity of the deed fairly took the breath of the Parisians whose ideas of American life were associated with border life and pork packers. Had we appeared in war paint and feathers to execute Indian war dances I am sure we would have fulfilled the expectations of many of our first night's audience—at the Vaudeville theater. The critics' surprise was great, therefore, when they discovered a well organized company of comedians, presenting plays in a convincing, normal manner, and whose team work was, after all, not so far removed from that of their own Parisian models. In Ber-

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In similar opposition was met and like prejudices were removed. Daly had vindicated the artistic claim of the American player in the face of unbelief at home and abroad.

Before the Daly vogue New York had known many efficient stock company organizations; Burton's, Laura Keane's, Wallack's; but Daly was the innovator, the reformer, and the pace he set has been kept by later producers.

A record of high attainment in the line of legitimate production was established by Edwin Booth at the theater built, managed, and finally lost by him. A vast sum of money and a life's ambition were put into the enterprise by the great tragedian, but, alas! he was before his time. The public in the 70's was not yet prepared for a steady diet of Shakespearean and standard plays, though they were presented thoroughly and lavishly and under the poetic direction of the master himself. Mr. Booth was too much the actor, too little the man of business affairs and the director of others. His peculiarly sensitive nature shrank from the strenuous routine of management. He loved most his books, his pipe and a little circle of sympathetic friends. It remains an eternal reproach that our metropolis should have rendered but uncertain support to the appearance of this marvelous man. The one hundred night's run of Hamlet at the Winter Garden theater was but Edwin Booth's just due; there were other and later engagements that did not meet with financial success. But the country at large acknowledged him and loved him. England placed him above its popular and most representative tragedian, with whom he appeared side by side on the same stage, and Germany bound his brows with laurel wreaths. The Players' club stands to-day a monument to the memory of this man who inspired admiration and love in all who met him, who best of all players I have known literally merited the name of gentleman. He would have been held eminent in any country and any age.

The other day down in Florida a gentle soul found eternal rest. Joseph Jefferson's unique career had rounded to an honored close. His had been, perhaps, the most appealing personality that the American stage had known. His name had become a household word, and his Rip Van Winkle stands

written in letters of gold. In his case Australia and London acknowledged the charm of his personality years before his own country awoke to the pride that Jefferson was by birth, education, and instincts an American.

These men who represented the almost ideal development of our national theater led the way to the British capital and others of their followers of to-day have found the citadel even easier of access. English players have come to us and ours have crossed the Atlantic until the dramatic art of the English speaking race has become international.

It is not an easy task to do justice here to the record of the long list of players who have built up the structure of the national theater. Many of them found their fame confined within the limits of the cities wherein they filled out their careers. William Warren, dear to the memory of every Bostonian, had but scant support outside of his own town. John Owens, an accomplished comedian, though of a wider range of popularity as far as the whole country is concerned, found sections that gave him but little appreciation. Ben de Bar's Falstaff was known to the west. John Sleeper Clarke and Mr. and Mrs. John Drew knew their best support in Philadelphia, although Mrs. Drew's *Mrs. Malaprop* was, through the instrumentality of Mr. Jefferson made generally known through his *Rivals* tours and obtained a wide celebrity.

Lawrence Barrett, John McCullough and Edwin Adams strove for years by honorable effort to find a place in the New York playgoer's affections, but though they gained slight encouragement there they had their reward in the enthusiastic following of other cities.

Of these three names the greatest honor goes by right to that of Lawrence Barrett for his insistent endeavor for the vogue of the higher class drama. Barrett always walked with his head in the stars. His enthusiasm never cooled. The very exaggeration of his bearing and of his self view kept his ambitions high—and filled his accomplishments with much nobility of purpose. His life was spent in work that has added dignity and worth to the stage. Few actors who have held renown in the poetic and legitimate drama have given the encouragement that Lawrence Barrett gave to the native dramatist.

Another gifted actor whose fate ran counter to a hoped for New York popularity was Frank Mayo. Many who recall only his romantic Davy Crockett would be surprised to know that he gave a remarkably good performance of Hamlet. In the evening of his career came a recompense, and the later generation will remember Mayo as Puddin' Head Wilson in the play made from Mark Twain's story.

For the old New Yorker whose playgoing days extend back over the years there are memories, since the days of Burton and the Placides, of the Wallacks, Brougham, John Gilbert, Billy Florence, John Raymond, Mrs. Hoey, Laura Keene, Agnes Ethel, Mrs. Gilbert, Ada Rehan—but why enumerate? One could go on for many pages in the mere transcription of their names, and I am not trying to form a catalogue or historical dramatic directory.

I could not do so if I would, for I am writing at long range in a practically foreign country, far from books of reference. I am merely endeavoring to give some form to an impression of the art of the American theater as I have seen it and participated in it, heard of it through veterans of the craft, or as I have gathered it from the records.


Mary Anderson's name dwells pleasantly in the recollection of many who cherish their experiences of the theater. This Kentucky girl whose meteoric success was the source of inspiration to hundreds of her youthful countrywomen, sprang almost full armed into her equipment for the performance of the Shakespearean heroines. Her following was immediate and enthusiastic and confounded the judgment of the sages who had always pointed out that there was no royal road to success upon the stage. But there was. Mary Anderson found it unaided by any adventitious means. It was a sheer tour de force; the triumph of personality. By her magnetism and her beauty of person and voice she disarmed criticism. Many there were who said she had no art, that she was a mere schoolgirl frolicking through her performances, and perhaps they were right. But Our Mary she became, that was enough for the thousands who believed her great. Her success was regarded jealously by the many talented women who had contested inch by inch for the places they had attained.

There was a psychology in it all that defied analysis. One real artistic achievement she did gain unquestioned. Her acting in the two parts of Hermione and Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* bore the stamp of truth, was genius; and with this one uncontested triumph she retired from the stage. Does she merit a place among the really great ones of the American stage? Perhaps. I confess I do not know.

It is not the writer's purpose to attempt any detailed statement of the status of the 20th century stage, or to particularize the doings of its prominent actors, producers and dramatists. Its history is too recent, too well known.

The theater of to-day has become a huge factor in the life of the American public.

I have given a hint of the beginnings of the art as it has been shown on the native stage. From the crudity of its early environment it has grown from sporadic and individual endeavor to the dignity of a definite profession. Its purpose has become crystallized and its character established. The business side of its necessities has caused the most astonishing changes to take place in the conduct of playhouses, and a new class of men has been called into being. These men are of the executive class, men whose relation to dramatic art corresponds to that of the art dealer toward the painter. Many and loud have been the protests of writers and players against the invasion of the business man in the field of art. Commercialism is the shibboleth of the protesting class who have seen in the rise of the monied speculator a menace to individualism and freedom of artistic expression. Without doubt the change has brought about some undesirable conditions, but the commercial manager has become a vital necessity. The growth of the mere business side of the theater has been so great within the past twenty years that without skilled executives in the conduct of its affairs all would have been thrown into confusion. Within this time the number of playhouses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and all the larger cities has more than doubled. They have sprung up in the rapidly growing towns of the second class until there is scarcely a community in the length and breadth of the land that hasn't its theater where frequent dramatic performances are given.



Who, then, could conduct the affairs of these many play-houses, and who could supply the necessary performances? The actor? He has far too great a responsibility in the developing and conserving of his own art to take on cares of a purely commercial nature. Hence the *raison d'être* of the business man and the monied investor. He has practically taken the place of the royal patron of the English theater and supplied the subsidy of the European capitals.

One cannot deny that the theater has improved with its growth as an institution, though whether this growth has been obtained through the interest of the commercial class or in spite of it, it is difficult to decide. Excellence in acting has kept pace with this increasing importance—that is, general excellence. The profession of the stage has called to his aid many talented playwrights, for the constant demand for new material has caused playmaking to become more of a skilled craft. The stage director, too, has become a greater necessity. Plays are no longer hurried into production with scanty rehearsal and preparation. The public will no longer tolerate hastily or inadequately presented plays; it demands the highest perfection. If this is lacking the play fails, and the speculative manager is too wise and has too much at stake to take any chances.

The growth of illusion has been made possible through the increasing power of the scene painters and the perfecting of new appliances for lighting and mechanical stage effect. All this has had a beneficial influence on the actor. In the matter of constant, skillfully directed rehearsals alone he has been immeasurably the gainer. He is no longer permitted to trust to his inspiration or the unaided strength of his personality. Fine points of characterization are gone over by the director and sufficient time allowed for the full conception of the player to mature. The constant friction of repetition and the labor of adjustment of purpose and character cause the subtleties of the scene to become apparent. The author is more a factor in these preparations than formerly he was. As he can now make a profession of playwriting, not being compelled to combine it with other literary labors for a livelihood, he can give more attention to the explanation of his

motives to the playing company. Thus the actor, the producer and the public are the gainers. An atmosphere of art is created that makes for higher results and increased perfection in the presented play.

For this practical widening of our artistic vision we are in a measure indebted to the visits of Henry Irving to this country. The smoothness of the presentations which were made known to us by him came in the nature of a revelation. His productions set a standard. He showed us the benefits to be derived from the exercise of painstaking care in preparation. Our producers have not been slow in adopting the suggestions thus obtained.

In the latest phases of its development the art of acting in America has shown great advancement in truth, simplicity, and artistic proportion. The standard is higher, and there is no such discrepancy between the leaders and the rank and file workers as one always expected to find in the theater of its younger days.

## THE INFLUENCE OF MUSIC UPON NATIONAL LIFE.

BY ARNOLD J. GANTVOORT.

[Arnold J. Gantvoort, educator; is prominent in the movement for the spread of musical education among the masses in the effort to improve their condition by awakening higher ideals; he is manager of the College of Music, Cincinnati, whose requirements for graduation are higher than those of any other in America. Prof. Gantvoort has delivered several addresses in the support of his ideas both to educators and to the general public.]

When Louis XIV. asked his prime minister, Colbert, how it was that so great and popular a nation as France was unable to subdue or conquer a little country like Holland, the prime minister answered: "Sire, the greatness of a nation does not depend upon the extent of its territory, but rather upon the character of its citizens."

Luther, in summing up the elements of national greatness, said:

"The life and character of a nation do not depend upon the abundance of its revenues, the strength of its fortifications, the size of its army, the beauty of its buildings; but on the number of its cultivated citizens; its men of education, enlightenment, and character. In them lie its chief strength, true greatness, and real power."

An English poet wrote:

What constitutes a state?  
Not high raised battlement or labored mound,  
Thick wall or moated gate,  
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned,  
Not bays and broad armed ports.  
No: men, high minded men,  
With powers as far above dull brutes endued  
In forest, brake, or den,  
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude.  
Men who their duties know,  
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain,  
These constitute a state.

Here are the opinions of three great men; the first, a warrior and statesman; the second, a minister, philosopher, and thinker; the third, a poet and seer.

Judging from these statements, to affect the life of a nation effectually and permanently we must affect the lives of its individual citizens; and to affect those lives we must begin with them in the plastic years of childhood, when the mind responds most readily to the invitation and incitation of the great truths placed before it.

The child who comes to us in the first years of his school life, still almost fresh from the hand of God, is, as someone has said, a bundle of possibilities. But still more might we say that he is a bundle of likes and dislikes, the result of his inborn emotions. It is universally recognized that childhood is the most favorable time for character formation, because the character is then in its formative state, consisting only of a number of tendencies or emotions. During the child life these emotions are usually the springs that move the child to action; but action oft repeated results in habits, and habit of action in childhood forms, later on, everyday conduct, and everyday conduct results in character for the man that is to be. The process of education is but the continuous battle between the inherent egoistic and the desirable altruistic emotions which we, as teachers, endeavor to instill into the child by the processes of modern education. The subsequent character of the man to be is dependent upon the final outcome of this struggle. If the egoistic triumphs, man becomes an undesirable quantity in society; while if the altruistic gains the ascendancy, conquering and subduing some of the egoistic emotions and casting out others, then man becomes a man in the fullest sense of the word; a man who can rise not only above his surroundings, his labor, the circumstances of his life, but who can rise above himself, and

“Unless above himself he can  
Erect himself, how mean a thing is man!”

The question now presents itself whether music can help in this struggle between the egoistic and altruistic emotions, and upon which side it arrays itself; for upon that will depend



its influence in the formation of individual character; and when these individuals are banded together into societies which we call town, city, state, or nation, the cumulative influence of music will be felt upon the life of these societies, upon the life of that nation.

I spoke a moment ago of the struggle between the egoistic and the altruistic emotions. The first of these are fear, hatred, sullenness, cruelty, despair, etc. These, as it is well known, are forever and forever bitterly and unutterably opposed to, and engaged in deadly fray with, their opposites, the altruistic emotions of courage, love, cheerfulness, kindness, hope, sympathy, etc. The very archenemy of all soul expansion is fear. When fear is cast out the soul expands in courage, which is simply the sense of the soul's triumph over, and its escape from, the prison of self in which it had lain captive. Fear is but the preponderance of self. Courage is the forgetfulness of self. All egoistic emotions are the assertions of self, while courage, love, kindness, hope, and sympathy are the results of self forgetfulness.

Can music cast out fear and thus permit courage to assert itself? The battlefield is pre-eminently the place where we expect to see exhibitions of greatest courage; and we shall find a striking answer to our question if we will but note the prominence given to music in warfare, among all nations, savage or civilized. There has never been a people so poor that it did not have some simple song or ballad, dear to the common heart, to serve as a source of comfort or inspiration in the time of sorrow or peril. How many times has

"The hollow eye grown bright  
And the poor heart almost gay"—

when the wearied and disheartened soldier has heard some well known strain and felt his pulse beat in unison to its measure!

A recent instance is but one of many hundreds which might be given to illustrate: On June 24, 1898, when the memorable battle of Santiago was being fought, the regulars of the United States army, firmly supported by the volunteers, were arrayed against the very flower of the Spanish forces, and

were suffering from a fearful rain of shot and shell and most deadly rifle fire. Men fell wounded and dead on all sides. Reinforcements were constantly in demand. An unseen enemy was decimating our troops, and it seemed as if all were lost in the face of that awful fire. Suddenly one brave, enthusiastic soldier struck up the strain of the Star Spangled Banner. Others, as they caught a fresh gleam of the bit of sacred bunting, joined in the song; and with souls thrilled anew, and hearts nerved by what seemed almost superhuman power, they pressed forward, and victory crowned our arms.

A great and thoughtful writer has said that when at the last day the recording angel opens the books and reads the story of the battle of Waterloo, it will be found that a very large portion of the dead who fell in the latter part of that conflict is set down on the debit side of that intrepid military band of the old guard which persisted in playing the Marseillaise long after Napoleon had uttered the never to be forgotten words, *Sauve qui peut!* and had himself left the field.

History is full of examples of the wonderful power of song and music upon the battlefield, in turning the tide of battle and in invigorating men with a courage that was simply sublime. Lifted out of himself, the soul of man, when listening to the inspiring strains of music, lives temporarily in an atmosphere and in a clime whose air and sunshine are the result of the most exalted emotions.

Sound is a social agent, and musical sound the soul's agent par excellence. Pain and sorrow expressed in music move us far more than words or gestures ever could; and when we would give voice to our highest joy, music is the medium employed. It addresses itself directly to the emotions and to the soul in a language understood only by the emotions and by the soul; yet it is a universal language, and speaks as many dialects and idioms as there are nations, races, and individuals. The modern development of music is but a response to the needs of humanity for a vehicle for the expression of the emotions, the soul feelings, which cannot find utterance in words, and for a medium which will calm these emotions or will exalt them beyond the power of words. Music is the most popular of all arts. It can reach and move

the impersonal soul of a crowd, and arouse it to the noblest deeds, or calm the violent emotions which prevail in times of panic. Music also fosters love for refined pleasures, and leads from low and degrading pastimes.

That nation is best educated in which knowledge is most diffused, in which learning is in the grasp of the greatest number; and only so far as any art or science becomes a part of popular education can that art or science become a power, an influence in the land. But there are some people who would make the keynote of their educational creed utility, and would bar out music as useless. Well, they have one thing in common with the savages, who are the most utilitarian people on earth. And yet even they, these savages (according to the testimony of Stanley, Grant, and other travelers), chant a sort of song when cleaning their rice, rowing their boats, or traveling, knowing that they can work better and accomplish more when thus accompanied. Field Marshal Wolseley, viewing the subject from his standpoint, wrote these words: "Troops that sing on the march not only get to their destination soonest, but they get there in better condition; and not only that, but they get there with a feeling of self confidence which is the mother of victory."

Popular education to-day means more than mathematics, language, or the natural sciences. We have finally learned that mental experience alone does not make the most desirable character, and that emotional experience is absolutely necessary. After the instinct of self preservation, the strongest motives of action spring from the emotional nature. To the purest elements of that emotional nature music appeals; therefore, how can this most desirable experience be better gained than by music? We are now speaking a great deal, and doing a great deal as well, for the culture education of our children. The schoolroom of to-day is full of pictures and casts, copies of some of the greatest art works, because we believe that the contemplation of these copies will be of lasting benefit in the formation of the characters of these children. It must not be forgotten, however, that none of these copies can in any way be considered equal to the originals which remain in the possession of the owners.

With music, however, it is otherwise. The performance of a great musical art work by an orchestra or by a chorus is not a copy of the original, but is the original itself, living, breathing, pulsing, fresh as it came from the soul of the composer. It is therefore not at all to be considered as optimistic if we say that, if the contemplation of the copy of an art work is considered elevating, the contemplation of the original, especially if we ourselves can help in re-creating this original, will undoubtedly be far more elevating. Even the person who knows nothing of the musical art receives often his greatest joy from music because it is to him a mental, and unconsciously also an emotional, stimulant and food. Music, perhaps more than in any other way, discloses its power in its indirect effects. Christ said, "He that would be greatest among you, let him be servant of all," and it is when music becomes the servant that it is most divine. Busy men, thoughtful men, and profound thinkers, understanding this, have often put themselves in contact with music, not to listen to the music itself perhaps, but for the effect which it had upon them unconsciously. George Sand wrote many of her best thoughts while listening to Chopin, and Browning has often expressed his debt to music as a quickening influence upon the mind.

Music has held a prominent place in the educational systems of all nations. It has gone hand in hand with intellectual and æsthetic culture, and has ever been reckoned as a divine art, an acknowledged force in moulding character and government. The most highly educated and civilized people have been the most musical.

The first great musical awakening in America began in New England. And it is a significant fact that this awakening came at the time when the new spirit of culture, in its fullest, broadest, sense, became rife. The love for good music came with the conquering ideas; those ideas which proclaimed liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof; liberty of thought and conscience, freedom from the traditional bonds of church and state; those ideas which placed deeds above creeds, mind above matter, and the dignity of human nature above the mere chance of birth or circumstance;

which believed in worth as the standard of political justice, and in the common heritage of all in whatsoever things were good, pure, and beautiful.

This was culture in the free unfolding of the best of character; the kindling anew of that divine spark in the human heart which brings man to see, understand, and feel the beauty of the world about him and within him. But when man reaches this point there is sure to be some tangible evidence of his advancement, and we find these higher elements of culture expressing themselves in art—art, which is the harmonic expression of the human emotions; the sphere of man's activity wherein the creative energy asserts itself, and his kinship with the divine is made more plain. And what form of art, what appeal to that part of man's being which is wiser than the intellect, was peculiarly the need of our age, this christian age, this age where "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" is the principle by which we seek to live? What form of art, we say, was so widely available and so eminently fitted to meet these wants as music? The people who began to see deeply saw musically. And those who turned to Emerson and his fellow philosophers for spiritual food found in Beethoven and his musical associates that which likewise met their desire for something more and more divine. We are told that the people from Brook farm often walked seven miles to Boston to drink in the great symphonies, and trudged home unconscious of fatigue, happy in the joys thus experienced, and carrying with them a new genius beautiful and strong, to help them in the next day's labor. These people were scoffed at by their more prosaic neighbors, but they did much to make music respected, and to bring its merits, as one of the humanities, to the attention of thoughtful people. Their ideas have permeated the thought and culture of our entire land. In the fierce heat of controversy which they aroused, creeds have been melted, the lines of demarcation between sects almost obliterated, great national wrongs righted, and the brotherhood of man more firmly established.

From these beginnings have sprung those mighty forces, of which music is not the least, which are now molding, refining, and humanizing our too crude and boastful civilization.

Great reforms are the product of great ideas; and great songs are the living embodiment of these ideas. Great music, into which great men have breathed their inmost souls, calls forth lofty thoughts and impulses, and often renews the spirit of the times. Music is the most fluid, subtile, and sympathetic of all arts. It is a bit of heaven upon earth, breathing of life and its possibilities, and immortality and its joys. Music, therefore, must become an integral part of our common, our atmospheric education. It must be made the people's possession, not alone a source of enjoyment and cultivation, but a mighty means for a mighty end—the upbuilding and strengthening of this great American nation. Music has ever been a potent agent in civilization. We Americans are a conglomerate people, half brothers of the world, with something good and bad of every land, and we need music more than any other nation. We need some ever present, far reaching, potent influence, which shall weld into one mighty whole these different elements of our national character, subdue our self assertion, round off the sharp corners, and efface our glaring inconsistencies; that shall sweeten the bitterness engendered by the conflict of opinion, temper party strife, and pervade the masses; bringing out the genial humanity of each individual, and freeing him from the thrall-dom of party, creed, or fashion—an influence that shall give us a proper conception of the meaning of the word freedom; that shall teach us that freedom is not license, but a source of action governed by certain fixed laws; that the highest freedom, and that which should be the real motive for the assertion of our individuality, takes cognizance of the laws of divine order and unity; that,

“True freedom is to share  
All the chains our brothers wear,  
And, with heart and hand, to be  
Earnest to make others free.”

But this very spirit of freedom must be properly restrained, or it will rush to its own destruction. It must be controlled by some gentler, more harmonious, more humanizing agency, which shall pervade the whole mass of the people

with a beautiful enthusiasm, and a deep reverence for something far above themselves—something beautiful and pure, which will waken the sleeping ideality in their souls, and lift them above the dead level of daily life and toil. Legal enactment or stern prohibition cannot exert this power. It must be something which shall touch that part of human nature from which the actions spring; something which shall put into the soul higher motives and broader sympathies. What can do all this, and do it so effectually, as music? What can so quickly magnetize a people into harmony of thought and action as this divine art?

The more prosaic and sordid a man's life and daily occupation, the more he needs the outlooks and leadings to a higher life. The more he dwells among things, the greater his need of contact with a spirit greater than mere things; the material life must touch the immaterial; the body must have an indwelling soul with aspirations and affinities, with a life above and beyond the routine of everyday life. The solution of our labor problems will speedily be reached when we come to realize that the need of the millions of toilers in our land is soul expansion, and the ennobling, revivifying influence of pure joy. When these people learn to look for a larger, freer life, not so much in their toil, or party, or creed (for these all have their limitations), but in themselves, in that part of their being which can rise above mere circumstances and surroundings, and live and enjoy, then will they become more happy and contented. They need to taste this better, broader life; and has not this life come to thousands of us, and to thousands of others, while listening to music, or while joining our voices in some thrilling chorus, that seemed to make the very heavens open and to give us a glimpse of the divine? We simply must look to music to help us in this good work of providing soul expansion for the masses; it is an appeal to which we are all open; in music we can forget ourselves; we can blend into good fellowship and friendship when we listen or sing together; when our emotions are permitted to express themselves in their own language, and our baser natures are silenced.

We believe that when the genius of song crowns the gospel of work there will be fewer strikes, the grimy faces will be less haggard, the tense muscles will lose their rigidity; under the unconscious influence of beauty, harmony, and rhythm, labor will be more cheerfully, more faithfully performed.

The influence of music in our schools at this time supports our arguments and presages much for the future. Wherever music is a part of the regular curriculum the culture and influence of that school are being uplifted. Coercive discipline is superseded by happy self control. The pupils are acquiring elasticity of spirit, joy in harmonious co-operation, in the blending of life with life; a rhythmical sense of order, a quickening of the ear and senses, a new and deeper respect for the rights of others, and a loftier patriotism. We of older growth may not be as amenable to such influences as the children, but in so far as we place ourselves within the reach of this mighty agent shall we be benefited and helped.

After all, freedom, to the average American, is not a reality, but a myth. We are so enterprising, so unceasing in our pursuit of the means of living, that we have no time to live. We are veritable slaves to business, and to a barren theory of discipline, discipline, unrelenting discipline. We still cling to the old Puritanic idea of self repression, and are afraid to give ourselves up to the happy instincts of our natures. The paths of business, fashion, intellectual advancement, and even religion are clearly mapped out for us, and woe unto him who dares to leave the beaten track!

We lack the knowledge of the art of living; we lack geniality; we do not even know the true meaning of the words. Living, to many, is a synonym for existence, while geniality is a part of some forgotten language. This last word comes from the same root as the word genius, and we all know that genius is a spontaneous thing, which

“Soars—it does not need to climb—

Upon God given wings to heights sublime;”

that it contributes to and sympathizes with enjoyment, excites pleasure, and reconciles it with loyalty to conscience, and with universal, holy, and disinterested purposes. If our civilization



endures or progresses, this element must enter more largely into our national character. We must live more, think more, feel more. The garb of business, the stamp of party or profession, must be laid aside, and our lives must become more genial, more responsive to the demands of our higher natures.

"So far as it is a matter of culture, it is through art that this genial era must be ushered in, and music offers itself as the most available, the most popular, the most influential, of all the fine arts. It possesses the nature and ability to unite and blend and harmonize all who may come within its sphere.

"It nourishes and feels the hidden springs of hope, love, and faith; renews the old convictions of life's springtime—that the world is ruled by love, that God is good, and that beauty is a divine end of life.

"It floods out of sight the unsightly, muddy grounds of life's petty, anxious, doubting moments, and makes immortality a present fact, lived in and realized. It locks the door against the outer world of discords, contradictions, importunities, beneath the notice of a soul so richly occupied; lets fate knock at the door—fate and the pursuing furies—and even welcomes them, and turns them into gracious goddesses, Eumenides! When man has tasted of that higher life, and has given himself up to it, at least for a time, until he has become acclimated to it, then man, no matter what may be his party or creed, will belong to the harmonic and anointed bodyguard of peace, fraternity, and good will. His instincts have all caught the rhythm of that holy march, and the good genius leads. Somehow the smallest fiber, the most infinitesimal atoms of his being, are magnetized and attracted to the pole star of unity; he has grown attuned to the believing mood, just as the body of a violin or the walls of a concert room become gradually seasoned into smooth vibration."

When the individual men and women who make up this nation have finally grown attuned to this believing, loving mood which leads to the realization of the brotherhood of man in its highest phases, I am certain that thoughtful and studious men, observing and understanding the cause and effect, will say that much of this result is due to the influence of music upon our lives, and consequently upon the life of the nation.

## AMERICAN ART.

BY FRANK EDWIN ELWELL.

[Frank Edwin Elwell, sculptor; born June 15, 1858, in Concord, Mass.; educated in sculpture in the United States under Daniel Chester French and in Paris at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and under Jean Alexandre Falguiere, member of the Institute of France; he enjoys the distinction of being the first American sculptor that modeled a statue in America which was erected in Europe; among other honors conferred upon him are two gold medals received from the Art club of Philadelphia, a medal received at the World's Columbian exposition, and one awarded by the king of Belgium for his studies in architecture; his best known works include a monument at Edam, Holland, Death of Strength, bust of Lord Provost of Aberdeen at Aberdeen, Awakening of Egypt, a statue in Paris, the equestrian statue of General Hancock at Gettysburg, the monument to Edwin Booth at Cambridge, Mass., the two fountains Ceres and Kronos at the Pan-American exposition, Buffalo, the statue of Dickens and Little Nell in Fairmount park, Philadelphia; the statue entitled New Life in Lowell cemetery, Lowell, Mass., the statue entitled Intelligence and busts of Levi P. Morton, and Garret A. Hobart in the senate chamber at Washington; he is the editor and publisher of *The Thinker* and from 1902-1905 curator of the department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York city.]

There are some very excellent reasons why American art has hung fire so long, while in other countries there has been some advancement; although, looking squarely at this matter, one is forced to conclude that art has not grown to any appreciable extent, except in certain rare individual cases, since the Renaissance. The increased general demand for popular education, the cheapening of life and its necessities, the general lack of adoration for the art of religion, has all combined to the dethronement of art, as a mighty influence in human life.

Ancient art was coupled with barbaric splendor. One may fancy that it was art itself that made this ancient splendor possible. Certain we are that all the existing records are left to us in some artistic form, whether in ruined temples, monuments, or the hand written books of the middle ages.

It will be well for us, as Americans, to remember that the whole northern portion of our country was settled by, or dominated by, the Puritan influence of the Plymouth colony. The making of any graven image of anything on earth, in the heavens, or under the earth, was regarded with austerity becoming the established tenets of their new found religion.

No doubt, deliberately having separated themselves from any connection with the established church of England, all forms of art were distasteful to their stalwart minds, and therefore, in their zeal to cut themselves loose from this hated religion, they regarded anything as emotional as art entirely sinful. They braved great hardships to gather to themselves a community full of desire for freedom of religious thoughts. Little did they imagine that the church from which they fled would one day dominate America, as it had England. But the road back is often longer, more wearing and discomforting than the rough hewn path toward some Mecca of earthly freedom.

That noble impulse which sought wider religious views was the divine artistic human impulse directed into another channel—not misguided as some have wrongfully stated—not that, for we, to-day, are the product of those splendid living souls who braved all for freedom of thought.

In the southern portion of our land, the atmosphere was more conducive to the development of art. We find great Frenchmen like Houdon, the sculptor, invited to America as early as 1772. At that time he modeled a bust of Franklin, and one of the illustrious Washington, at Philadelphia.

We do not find any great art movement at the north at this date. There were the usual traveling painters, who made cheap family portraits, and the miniature artist, but these productions can hardly be classed as art. The north, however, was steadily increasing its domination over the south. The love of luxury, and the many servant slaves, took from the southerner much of his native vigor, and as he moved further south, his temperament was less hardy. But this much must be said of the south, that they earlier developed an artistic temperament, and as a result we have Washington, and its capitol. This grand city, with its most beautiful building in the modern world, would not have been possible in Boston at so early a date. The Puritan attitude of regarding art as sin, as immoral, as wicked, crushed out, for a time, whatever of art spirit prevailed in their own section, and influenced, in fact, the entire country to some extent.

The fact that the New Englander was a direct descendant from the English, Scotch, and Irish, would preclude him from

an artistic temperament. There is no art in England, Scotland, or Ireland; there is none that is distinctive or national in character. A few great painters and sculptors have lived in England, were born there, but they are lost to view in the almost wretched commercialism of most English art. The greater souls, like Haydon and Harry Bates, were never listened to, and had it not been for our American Whistler, England would be to-day a graveyard of artists. Turner even found it difficult to impress himself on the cold artistic indifference of the mass. These men were deliberately shunted aside by the mediocre hustlers, with pot boilers to sell, or stonecutting to contract for. ✓

We in America, therefore, started without much true art feeling or noble art impulse, and absolutely no traditions. We were handicapped at the start by the sterile froideur of the mother country, and had it not been for our friendly relations with France, a Latin nation, we would to-day have been as far behind in artistic temperament as England

That fortunate friendship with France warmed our blood, sent Americans to Paris to visit the land of our powerful and artistic ally. When we desired art or architecture, the best, for our homes or our capitol, we naturally turned to France. By the time our art had fairly started, we possessed a profound contempt for things English; we therefore preferred to call into action those wonderful artistic qualities of the French and Italian nations. No one can ever forget that liberty loving Italian, Giuseppe Ceracchi, who made an excellent bust of Washington. This instinctive liking for the impulsive, warm blooded Latins, although France became a needed friend partly to strike a telling blow against England, nevertheless she saw in America something worthy of affectionate esteem. We may therefore justly conclude that our art had its genesis in that impulsive friendship of the French nation and her deep regard for Franklin as a typical representative of the young and powerful nation in the western hemisphere; and it is not in the least strange that all of our great artists, with but few exceptions, have gathered in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, or other Parisian schools, their solid foundation for the glory of American art.

While no doubt we owe much to England in the way of trade and manufactures and general methods of business interests, we are not at liberty to give her credit for our art. In literature, we have followed rather closely the English model, and one may fancy that it would be difficult for a Latin to discover much radical difference between Emerson, Henry James, or Carlyle and Macaulay; in fact, there is an apparent improvement in Emerson over some English writers. There is an artistic touch in the work of this New England genius that will be appreciated in time.

Literature is so closely allied with art, that it is possible to speak of one while elucidating the other.

There is some reason in the supposition that art was great in Greece and Rome, because there was no daily criticism by art critics who have to be supported, else they might become a charge to the state or community in which they operate.

Great art is born from the contemplative minds of men of genius, and when the little art critic steps in with his often unwarranted condemnation of matters he is entirely incapable of comprehending, and sends his puerile diction broadcast, it is next to impossible for any great soul to rest easily within the house of his own thoughts.

Our highest point reached in American art can be found in the Shaw Memorial and the great decoration of the Sun God in the Boston library. Strange as it may seem, after reference to the Puritan inability to find interest in art matters while founding a great nation, yet these two wonderful creations are in the very community where the Puritan made his first landing in America.

Nothing can show the growing interest in art so well as our art museums, like the Metropolitan Art Museum of New York City, The Chicago Institute of Chicago, The Boston Art Museum, and the Art Museum of St. Louis. These institutions, the product of private interest and public care, are all of comparatively recent date, none more than fifty years old. There are others of equal importance but these few represent determined effort and the desire of great wealth to enrich this country with the best art treasures of antiquity and modern times.

There has been a greater interest in collecting works of ancient art, than in fostering modern genius. With increasing wealth, the financier has turned collector from sheer necessity, to divert the mind and to cultivate his instinctive love for the beautiful. While this wealth may be acquired by methods not written in the book, yet one would hardly question methods, so long as a great art institution came into existence. The mere fact that wealth is thus applied relieves it of any stain whatsoever; it simply becomes a means to an end, and the end is lasting and justifiable.

There is apparent in all the museums of the country a marked change in the character and quality of the exhibits. Finer and finer examples of antiquity are being placed in these buildings set apart as storehouses for the best art thought of departed civilization, and one may there see the best of the thought life of the race.

At present there seems no good reason to even suppose that we shall leave much behind us of permanent, lasting artistic value, or as a record of an advanced civilization, unless we awake to the vital necessity for the development of a higher or finer ideal of art.

Our public monuments are usually mere contract work, flimsy in construction, hard in execution, lacking in most cases any artistic feeling whatsoever. It is impossible to build for all time, except every stone is laid with the cement of honesty. Committees, whose only apparent object is to carry out a design in the cheapest manner possible, so that their own emoluments may be more satisfactory, can hardly have in mind posterity, or the use art must play as historic record. Nothing could so exactly reveal our real unvarnished selves as these horrid monuments that benumb artistic genius and positively clutter up a beautiful spot on the earth's surface.

There is little advancement in the character or style of our public monuments erected to the dead soldiers of the several wars. A decade has passed without any apparent gain, except in one or two instances. These truly artistic productions stand out against the somber sky of our art life like bright stars in our intellectual firmament, and are our only

encouragement. No label need be attached to these works; we feel their worth in the atmosphere they create. To paint a rosy picture of advancement in sculpture where there is no such fact would not benefit a noble profession or the coming genius.

We must not look to the plaster and hay productions for exposition grounds, for our greatest advancement in American sculpture. These ephemeral, effervescent efforts of mediocrity are but the splash in the pool, they are not the strong swimmer who strikes out boldly into the deep waters of great art. It may be doubted if these efforts have not somewhat retarded our appreciation of the godlike dignity of sculpture. To turn these bulky masses out by pointing machines, hustle them into freight cars, and then have them placed and retouched by a trade union, is, it would seem, the forerunner of decadence rather than uplift on to a higher, surer, and more solid artistic dignity.

One of the principal causes for this retarded growth of monumental appreciation is due largely to the fact that the general public have not learned to go direct to the artist, or deal with him instead of a third party or some intrusive organization.

Genius cannot be organized without suffering immediate death.

It is granted that the organization is more powerful as a machine, and more busy with methods for reaching the public, its hands are often on the purse strings before the genius is aware of a contemplated monument. Their spies and officers are tireless because it is a mere business proposition, nothing more. The motions of their hearts are dull as night. These contributory causes are disastrous to the proper development of American art; and were it not for the fact that a change is taking place in the mental attitude of the art lover and patron, there would be little hope for substantial advancement in American art. There is growing a better relation between the creator of art and those who appreciate a creation. The patron finds that he is as necessary to the artist as the artist is to the patron, a better feeling is springing up between them, each encourages the other, when the middleman is left

out. The copyist or art manipulator never seems to put anything into art but a death potion; hence, in our consideration of so great a thing as art, we must set them aside so that our mental vision may not be impaired, distorted, or shaken from that large ideal of which we, as Americans, are eminently capable.

The insane notion that genius can only develop under a false pressure of prescribed rules of training is fallacy so enormous in its stupidity that the wonder is that in certain quarters there is still any desire for genius to express itself.

Our future art development will come by the careful training of genius along natural lines of individual freedom of thought. The execution or technique will play a less important part than the preservation of individuality, and the establishment in the minds of the artist of those fundamental principles on which he can base an artistic career, unhampered by annoying details of less importance.

The over trained mind is like the over trained muscle—it finally becomes atrophied and almost useless. The artist must have room in his mind for the easy influx of ideas, otherwise his genius is handicapped, or his soul life slumbers under a mass of humanized rubbish.

Competition, apparently, destroys the art germ, except that healthy competition between the lower and the higher individual, in one and the same artist. Education has reached such a condition to-day, that a good part of the original intention of God is lost. The disorderly assumption that because artistic genius is native to the individual it is something dangerous to established forms of mentality, and therefore, must be tuned down to low understanding, is preposterous. It smacks of the organization looking out for its income.

The befogged mind of many over trained artists in America is a sad commentary on our methods of so-called education. Education means development, not barnacles.

The springs from which the race man derives his eternal genius are far removed from prescribed or regulated fields of learning. The wide open mind of the artist is a convenient place for the muse to enter. Here she finds no resistance, no adamant walls of personal conceit built carefully into the



human brain by others who have never seen the light of intellectual freedom.

Now and then, when a great architect gives a commission for three hundred thousand dollars worth of sculpture to an artist, and does not tie down his genius, does not hamper him, but guides him, we naturally begin to believe that we have made progress in American art. If two human souls can rise above the system so far that they feel the throb of each other's artistic feeling, then we certainly are advancing. Here, indeed, is a step in the right direction. The smug and easy confidence of the art combination was ill at ease at this announcement. The pale green eye of fraud grew a sickly yellow. Yet nothing has been so healthy for our art development as this sound, common sense, liberal minded architect.

With the dealer on the one hand, and the art organizer playing into his hands, and both playing into each other's, there can be little hope that they will ever find it convenient to recognize true genius when it comes into a community.

There is no question of our latent genius in existence, and yet unborn; a genius so strong that, coupled with its own refinement and the technique gathered in foreign schools of art, will produce results as fine, if not finer, than have ever existed before. Saddled on this splendid prospect, weighing it down with ponderous ignorance, are all these self styled national art organizations with their busy commercialists.

In the period of our art when the artists gave us of their best honest selves, we were frankly free in our work. We made rapid progress toward the fulfillment of our destiny in art matters. At that time the dealer and the organizer had not perceived the pecuniary advantage of art organizations, or the possibility therein for deluding the public, too preoccupied for rational thought on art matters.

There are two ways of elevating art—by the boot straps, or by the highest point reached by the individual genius; and the lowest point of any genius is higher than any place reached by an art organization or art school.

Art, up to a certain point, is better developed without restraint. Those first dreamy years of an artist's life are the sacred moments when he is drawing direct from the infinite,

is communing with nature, is lolling in the lap of luxurious thought; rapidly, vividly, and beautifully pass and repass the pageant of fancy. How cruel, how wicked, how stupid to obstruct all this beautiful thought life, to dump into this beautiful flowing brook of eternal memories the man made rubbish of convention. Beyond the easy acquisition of the fundamentals of learning, the artist should float gracefully out into the realization of the freedom of genius. There is no matrix into which an artist is cast. He is the original from which no duplicate has ever been made. As this dreamy, artistic soul recedes from the wider vision of youth, the proper time has come to lead the artist toward technique and those kindred entanglements we deem so necessary, but the soul, having become strong before this indulgence, remains the rudder of the intellect. Where intellect is the guide alone, the artist is hopeless, for intellect is never the cause, only the instrument; genius is the source, and never the instrument.

The power to translate the soul's impressions is purely intellectual. The power to receive those impressions rests in the untrammelled soul life of the man, which, rendered too mechanical in its action, enfeebles the higher mind, and it refuses to vibrate in unison with those delicate waves of ethereal power; and what we have as a result in most artists' lives is but the reflection of another stronger type of a clearer, finer soul existence. This wonderful soul life is denied no living mortal.

We deliberately, in our American fashion, crush out our true selves, because it is easier to be like the crowd and to gather in little or nothing of individual development, except what is the general accepted standard and is deemed safe from a commercial point of view. Minds large enough to have passed beyond the islands of commercial sirens, who had the good sense to plug their ears with rational independent thought, are now sailing in the open sea of the soul's life. They find no pleasing analogy between organized art and true art itself. The feeling that prevails in certain quarters, that somehow genius can be manufactured by educational methods, is as fallacious and stupid as to suppose that any aggre-

gate of persons can produce genius. We can preserve it, but we can not create or manufacture it. We can, however, develop genius, we can strengthen it by liberal education for the world's use, but we cannot do much more than to give it a separate and orderly house to live in, with wide open windows and a large, free door for the incoming and outgoing of beautiful, free ideas.

The burden, therefore, of our song should be for a larger conception of art, a wider range of vision, a nobler consideration of those forces which have no part with present day commercialism. They are the real life of the race man.

We are attempting to deal with those underlying elements that build for posterity; that secure us a heritage to our descendants, something more priceless than gold, more valuable as a legacy than jewels; that is capable of sweeping away with powerful hand all those trivialities of ultra commercial existence, and hark back to those finer instincts we are all conscious of possessing.

The cognomen, visionary, dreamer, and fool, may all be applied at once to any man who dares to even attempt to elevate artistic thought in our day, but it must be borne in mind that each period of decadence has had its Moses leading the great inert masses into a finer intellectual country, nearer the mighty rock full of the water of truth.

In America, to-day, we are worshipping our golden calf. We have raised this senseless image on a high pedestal, formed of our forgotten selves. We are sleepy from the constant repetition of our incantations to this *tete de veau*, but on our tables of stone are written the undying laws of progress, and one day we shall ourselves hurl them down from the mountain of intelligence and grind to powder this meaningless image.

Triumphant America is a mighty concept, a thrilling thought. Whatever real progress we have made in this country has been entirely due to individual genius and the free opportunity to exercise it, not by combined or organized talent. We have made some progress in art, but far from what we are capable of at the present moment. We have yet to learn that sustaining the individual genius in art, seek-

ing him out in his own studio, purchasing direct from him and thereby encouraging him in his work, we can save money for future purchases, for we can pay him more than the dealer and less than we should be obliged to pay the grasping middleman. We should ourselves come into immediate association with genius, learn of the artist the beauty of the world of nature, encourage his striving, and refill ourselves with that something of refinement of thought found nowhere else outside of art. Let the dealer keep his shop for old masters and bric-a-brac, but let us who are alive and have money hunt for genius that thus happily we may add to the sum of human enjoyment.

Great men in art or anything else are simple, honest souls, retiring, but wonderfully attractive to the merchant if he can for a moment forget his shop, to glide gracefully into the atmosphere of the artist. The merchant needs the artistic genius vastly more in his life than the artist needs the narrowing influence of the shop.

A very notable attitude of the Greeks should be re-established in American sculpture. There is no record of a pointing machine or mechanical device for the rapid reproduction of heroic statues from small, imperfect sketches. The real genius needs no watching, but the man short of genius will attempt by any and all means to reproduce a semblance of the results of genius. We, in America, have through organized efforts in art drifted into mechanical methods of producing huge figures by processes that are not sculpture in the true sense of our conception of this noble art. It is only as an individual works on an artistic production, from its conception to its ultimate completion, that the work can retain the dignity, feeling and power of genius. The dollar is placed too near the vision and it obliterates all honesty of attitude toward greater things. The Shaw Memorial was fifteen years in the making, and there is no touch of the mechanical about it. The Bonney Memorial was eleven years in the making, and never came near a pointing machine. Only one or two points were taken from the sketch, so that the heroic statue should have all the freshness of the original model, should be seen as an ensemble. The large statue grew like the sketch, from a

strong inner impulse and the inspiration of a beautiful human figure. What we term a mechanical reproduction of an original sketch by a well known sculptor or painter is by no means a transfer into other hands of the same inspiration known to the artist who conceived the sketch. It is a method of robbing the patron, so that time may be spent in other business enterprises. In so far, therefore, as we have lost our own respect for individual labor and responsibility for honest work, we have retarded our advancement in art. While trade can achieve great results by combinations, trusts, and the like, art suffers, withers up, and nearly passes away, as a vital force in race development. Japan is none the less a powerful nation because for centuries she has devoted herself almost entirely to art. She has rounded out her intellectual powers by these years of contact with artistic expression.

Where the mass of humanity protects, sustains, and keeps the artistic genius free and at work at his own productions, there is rapid growth, one might say tremendous results. To keep a store is not in itself degrading, stores are necessary and useful; but to make a store of an artist's studio, to deliver ready made goods by factory methods, to take commissions one can not honestly execute, and hand them over to inferior artists to make, affixing one's name thereto, is artistic criminality; it is degrading to professional life, it rots the very life of American art, it puts the knife to the throat of the most beautiful mistress man has ever known, it stamps modern civilization as execrable.

There are always two great factors in the development of art, the artist and his patron, or the artist and those who appreciate his work. One is essential to the other. Any element that forces itself between these two factors and destroys proper intimate relations is diverting and destructive, if one has in mind growth. There are dealers who have exhibited and sold works of comparatively unknown artists of rare talent. One firm has constantly presented American sculpture in a more attractive form, bringing to themselves the respect and admiration of all those interested in the proper development of American art. These dealers who have labored assiduously to call attention to our works of genius

are the salt of our land. This splendid attitude was not taken entirely for profit; for who ever expects to be paid in cash for nobility of character? There is a feeling of reserve, of calm dignity, and of comfort in having done some useful good, which is a reward in itself of no mean proportion.

Wealth that sees nothing in home genius, that feels no drawing to a profound duty to race life, will contrive to pass in and out of the dealer's shop, buying fake antiques until that day when, enriched with larger vision, they begin the rounds of the studios, where they will be welcome as much for their kind appreciation of the work as for their gold. The rich need the artist in their lives, and they need the large hand and the association of aristocracy.

The artist is a born aristocrat, and he will not fail to meet wealth in a most charming manner, but he creates an atmosphere wealth cannot without his aid; neither can it be bought, but it can be learned by association with the artist, by seeing him at his work, by lifting the hunger and want from his lips, by encouragement wealth alone can give. For without wealth there can be no art; it is the flowering of a nation, and happily for mankind, it finds not all its pleasures in counting gold, but sometimes in turning money into great works of art, of living power for the enlightenment of mankind.

When we contemplate the lavish expenditure for art in America to-day, despite the fact that it is not for the works of our own men of rare genius, we are encouraged, uplifted, and moved along right lines; for one day we shall have left the critic to his commodities, to organizations, to his art politics, and we shall have taken ourselves into the atmosphere of the artist himself, into that beautiful realm we know so little about, but in which we have a large instinctive interest.

There can be little hope for the great progress in American art until there is a new crop of critics, men who are not the tools of circumstance, large minded, artistic in temperament, honest in conviction. We have not one such art critic in America to-day; on the other hand, we have men who have considerable book learning and audacity. Fundamental honesty is as necessary to the art critic as to the artist.

These meddling dilettantes who write for newspapers are more often destructive in their attitude than constructive. They rarely have high ideals of art; they are on an exact par with the sculptor who always engages in the business of manufacturing soldiers' monuments, or strictly commercial sculpture—men who never create an ideal statue or group, but who adopt and sometimes deliberately steal the ideas of others more favored by the gods. These two, the art critic of no artistic feeling and the commercial sculptor, will find much in common with the mural painter who regards size as evidence of ability.

Our greatest progress has not yet been made in American art itself. Real progress has been made, however, in collecting ancient and modern works from other countries. The irony of fate seems to sustain the position taken by most of our museums, in not giving much place to American art. The commercial artist and his organized cohorts inspire the commercially inclined art critic to attack vigorously, with a broadside of commonplace platitudes, the apparently tardy recognition by our museums of American art. The wisdom of these bodies of men who are interested in art is very just. They recognize with evident regret that, as yet, we have not made sufficient progress to warrant comparison with the great art of Europe.

These first stages of combined art politics may be necessary to elevate art by the boot straps. At least, this coarse attitude may clear the way for the coming renaissance which will regard our present condition of mind as childish, futile, and absurd. Department store ethics are never a measure for real genius. The bargain counter rush after trifles is never our real intellectual capacity. Our monumental bric-a-brac absurdities in our parks and public squares never can be our real power in the art of sculpture.

Judging from our present architecture, we have made little progress over the beautiful colonial period, rich in its delicacy of lines, dignified in its proportions, and satisfying to our most refined and intellectual natures. The Capitol building at Washington, the Union club in New York city, and the Capitol building at Providence, Rhode Island, are

the highest points we have reached in distinctive elegance of ideal and construction. There are others of interest, but in general our architecture has followed commercial necessity, has dropped down to the level of mere utility. Our skyscrapers are probably the most ugly things on earth, discomforting to the eye, disagreeable to pass on a windy day, loud, boisterous, and unrefined in lines, but utilitarian for our hurry-up-move-on age. One wonders sometimes what it all means, where will it all end

While the casual observer can note great advance along commercial and manufacturing lines, we fail to observe with our keenest desire any great progress, as yet, in our art. But the reader must not fancy that this is a pessimistic attitude that delights rather in facts than hopes. There is no reason for discouragement, because like all youth we must pass the way of folly, that our inner consciousness may see the vision the more clear, to observe later results.

In one direction we are making decided progress. Here and there we have men of strong individuality who are laboring, sometimes almost alone and unencouraged, along the line of genius they feel is their own. These men are now being appreciated by the intellectual portion of our citizens. They are being exalted for their work, not for their organizing or political ability. New men have come into the field of art, who are determined to live the life of the artist despite the trying ordeal of rebuff, snubbings, and commercial trickery of his organized confreres. These men are like great mountains, always solid in their basic principles of art and life. They are condemned, persecuted and imitated in turn, but their stalwart souls are hewn out of the solid bed rock of honesty. Trickery, cunning, and even surface politeness are no part of their mental equipment. They are aristocrats in mind. They see the vision with clear intellects and hold to their upright hearts. They measure the reality of their professional lives with an ability born of their love for the truly beautiful. Their ideas are those of a healthy conception of individual duty to art. That they are not raised on a flimsy pedestal and worshiped for some trivial qualities of manners counts not against them—it is the result of their



work that counts, it is the sum of their honesty of nature that breeds great works of art. Their touch is firm and full of character. They are not copyists, arrangers, purloiners, or organizers of pocket benefiting societies, with the thoughtless members of a community to supply the funds. They are creators, they are artists. They set the stamp of reality on all their efforts. They do their own work, draw their own buildings, paint their own pictures, and model their own sculpture, think with their own minds and execute with their own hands, feel what they are doing; and this healthy atmosphere is slowly, but steadily, building for a great American art.

And the solid and significant fact is that the very men who have destroyed the deep serenity of our artistic growth will be those most benefited in the development of their own artistic characters. Those who have labored unceasingly for a larger outlook will have their reward in the charming atmosphere of honesty.

The true genius is ill adapted for intrigue or commercial acuteness. He is somewhat in charge of those who appreciate his genius. His opportunity is created solely by his finished work. He has no theatrical or advertising ability. He must always rest his real advancement on the excellent quality of his work, and here the public must meet him half way. While it is his province to create, to execute, it is the duty of those who appreciate to see that newer and greater opportunities are presented, that he is not sold out by the organized wolves of the art trade.

The artist who owns a town house or a palace in the country is but a poor imitator of his patron, who, knowing the world, is not fooled by such a pretense. Donatello, our sainted one, was once asked, "Why do you not have a villa in the country like the other artists, or a fine home in Florence?" He modestly replied:

"Because I am an artist."

When the architect, the sculptor, and the painter recognize themselves as artists, then we shall achieve progress worthy of our time and generation.

In our American art there is little evidence, as yet, of a feeling for true sculpture such as one finds in the Hermes of Praxiteles, or the earlier Lemnia by Phidias. The disposition of our schools is to teach anatomy instead of forms, to exact details instead of masses. Herein one may fancy is our chief fault to-day, dwelling too much on what the eye can see with the outer mechanical mind, and too little on what the deeper intellect can feel. The full, round modeling in the Hermes does not indicate loss of planes, but the edges of these planes are so beautifully modeled that they have the round, full appearance of the divine form, the outer skin covering the work of the sculptor; whereas, a good deal of Anglo Saxon modeling is only the hard, tense muscles, or sinewed construction without feeling or one thought of that mysterious outer development known as the human skin. The Greeks knew how to clothe their nudes with this provision of nature, so that the machinery of the human construction played only a secondary part, as it does in reality. We gaze long into a beautiful face, but we do not think of muscle or flesh, we think only of the soul shining from the eyes, that radiant something we call the individual self, transfixing us by its own power. We see this and feel it in Greek sculpture; we feel the soul of Hermes in the statue by this great Greek genius. No god could sit without his outer skin and be contemplated with any kind of satisfaction by intelligent humanity. Art produces the godlike, not the absurd.

Healthy progress in American art can be made only when individual minds gather the great truths, the wonderful forms of beauty in line laid down by classic art.

In a certain sense there is no such thing as modern art; true art is ever ancient in feeling, dignified, calm, and godlike. Our noisy attempts at violent action is but a symbol of enfeebled intellect. A great mind never resorts to flamboyant and dramatic display; great genius seeks rather to impress other minds with the solemnity of dignified beauty, of splendid repose, and of masterful silence.

These horrible attempts to reproduce a Muybridge instantaneous photograph in sculpture are a sad commentary on our ideas.

The range of sculpture is limited only so far as human intellect is devoid of refinement of thought. As wealth digs itself out of the caves of commercial greed, it will find the artistic genius waiting in the sunlight, to show the way to a higher earthly appreciation of beauty.

## AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY WILLIAM S. WALSH.

[William Shepard Walsh, author and editor; born Paris, France, February 1, 1854; during all of his business life he has been engaged in literary work and in 1885 he became editor of Lippincott's magazine, which position he resigned to become connected with the New York Herald, of which he has been literary editor for the past ten years. Author of Faust, the Legend and the Poem, Paradoxes of a Philistine, Handy Book of Literary Curiosities, Curiosities of Popular Antiquities, and many articles in periodicals.]

It is a commonplace with modern science that everything extant presumes an ancestor. Nobody ever believes that Pallas Athene sprang full grown from the forehead of Jupiter. Even if Dr. Burke, over in England, succeeds in producing life by mechanical means it will be shown immediately that he has only expedited the natural processes of parenthood.

So it need not disturb us if American literature exhibits traces of descent from European, and especially from English literature, just as all modern literatures derive from antiquity. England and the Teutons, France and the Celts, Spain and the Latins are in our blood and in our brains. Rich and strange, indeed, is the sea change they have suffered.

Nor need the twin accusation, that American literature was of slow development, detain us long. America was not America until after the revolution. The national spirit was born with the national constitution. For generations the territory now known as the United States was a mere aggregation of colonies, English, French and Spanish.

And if these colonies produced few books it is because they were settled by the sort of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards who devoted their energies to the production of other things than books. They were mostly adventurers in the good old heroic sense. There were comparatively few scholars among them. They uttered themselves in action, or at most in the spoken as against the written word. They had to live their Odyssey, not to sing it. Yet the love of the beautiful survived in them and in their descendants, and was stimulated into expression as later adventurers of

a gentler sort invaded the fields and pastures which the pioneers had established in the wilderness.

Even from the first, indeed, this gentler element was not all lacking. It has been the fashion to describe the round-heads of New England as middle and lower class Englishmen, while the cavaliers of the Old Dominion are enrolled in the courtlier ranks. In actual fact, both bodies of settlers possessed members known alike to the college of arms and to the universities, although both were largely recruited from the tradesmen and the yeomanry. Further, however, it is a fact that the dominant social and mental element in the north was the Puritanic, which despite Milton and Bunyan has contributed little to literature, while in the south it was that of the fox hunting squire, which, despite Somerville, has contributed even less. So it is not surprising that neither in quality nor in quantity was the early output of either section at all notable.

The first American contribution to English belles-lettres was George Sandys' scholarly translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, done on the banks of the James river, and issued in London in 1626. The first book printed in British America was the notorious Bay Psalm Book, a doggerel version of the psalms issued at Cambridge in 1610.

Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, "the tenth muse lately sprung up in America," as the English title page to her poems described her, sprung up in Massachusetts, of which province her husband was governor, but she was intellectually a sister to the cavalier poets and a transatlantic exponent of the flowery conceited age of Charles I. Of the other literary remains of the seventeenth century it is sufficient to recall those historically valuable documents, John Smith's *True Relation* and *General History*, John Winthrop's *History of New England* and the misnamed *Mourt's Relation*, written by William Bradford and Edward Winslow and to allude in passing to the now seldom read, yet not yet quite unreadable verses of Benjamin Thompson, and that curious medley of mockery and philosophy, *The Simple Cobbler of Aggensam* by Nathaniel Ward.

It has been remarked that the earlier Americans dealt with the spoken rather than the written word. Perhaps that is the reason why their descendants are and have been so notably proficient as public speakers. A common saying abroad credits every American with being a born orator. Americans have always distinguished themselves on the hustings, at the bar, and in the pulpit.

Massachusetts, eminent in polemics from its foundation, rose to pre-eminence when Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) became the most commanding ecclesiastical figure in Christendom. In poetical imagination Edwards has been likened to Shakespeare and to Dante. Lord Kames and Sir James Mackintosh ranked him among the most original of the world's metaphysicians. He is the typical representative of Calvinism in that first half of the eighteenth century, when Calvinism was at its apogee. On the other hand his mental antipodes, Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), is probably the most perfect summary of the latter half of the eighteenth century, its skepticism, its utilitarianism, its shrewdness, its sagacity, its scientific curiosity. Franklin's homely common sense possessed all the surprising quality of the most audacious genius. His life is the very romance of the unromantic. From the time when his quaint exterior as he munched a penny roll in the Philadelphia streets attracted the amused attention of the young girl who afterwards became his wife, to that when as minister plenipotentiary from a baker's dozen of revolted states he appeared in homespun garb at the most splendid of European courts to receive the homage of princes, poets, philosophers and potentates, he remains an impressive mixture of the whimsical and the magnificent. His scientific discoveries were all the more startling for the simple and lucid manner in which he announced them. Because he dared to be himself he was the greatest literary force that America had yet presented to the world. Yet, in the Autobiography which must remain for all time a model in this form of literary composition, he does not scruple to inform us how he had learned the elements of his trade from Addison and Steele.

Addison and Steele remained for many years dominant forces in English literature on both sides of the Atlantic. But on the eastern side they were modified by Johnson, Burke, and Goldsmith, and on the western by Hamilton, Paine and Jefferson, whose political writings are all masterpieces of their sort. While Jefferson's in particular show traces of extensive reading not only in the current English masters, but in the French philosophers and the Italian jurists, they are essentially in keeping with the new spirit of Americanism wherein Franklin was the leader. If the young republic had been learning from other nations she was even now beginning to teach. If the novels of Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810), the first important imaginative prose work produced in this country, showed traces of Godwin, they are known to have powerfully affected the imagination of Godwin's son-in-law Shelley, and of Godwin's daughter, the author of *Frankenstein*. If the poems of Philip Freneau (1752-1832), the first important satirical and imaginative verse produced in this country, remind you now and then of Churchill and Dryden you must remember that Scott and Campbell did not disdain to pilfer admirable lines from him.

The Americanism of Franklin and Jefferson was felt in other departments than literature. It tended towards simplicity in dress and manners. John Jay, a somewhat starched and buckrammed personality, complains in one of his letters that buckles and small clothes are disappearing, and with them is disappearing also the high tone of society. It was a common complaint among the fashionable classes that there was no longer any distinction between the dress of gentlemen and their inferiors. As the modes and manners of the upper classes sloped further towards simplicity, those of the middle and lower classes rose to meet them. In short, the advancing tide of democracy was gradually encroaching on social distinctions. More than this, it was even beginning to question their validity. The appearance of Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker's New York* was a significant sign of the time. It showed how life was reacting upon literature. The book actually presumed to lay impious hands upon the sacred past! It made fun of the old Dutch traditions! To

the conservative mind the shock was almost as great as that which in our own times was caused in England by the appearance of Mark Twain's cruder but more acid satire upon social snobbery—A Yankee at King Arthur's Court.

Irving triumphed. The conservative mind was forced to accept the verdict of the laughing crowd. Knickerbocker's History was recognized as a masterpiece in a new and genuine sort of humor. In England Sir Walter Scott declared that it was as good as Swift or Sterne, thus implying a likeness which really does not exist. Irving's humor has some kinship to Addison's and Goldsmith's, who preceded him, but a still greater kinship to young Charles Dickens's, who followed him. The Christmas essays and stories in the Sketch-book are the evident models upon which the Christmas books of Dickens are patterned. There are passages in the Christmas Carol and The Cricket on the Hearth which are lit up by the Irving twinkle. And anybody who will compare the chapter on the Stagecoach in the Sketch Book with Chapter XXII. of the Pickwick Papers will find in the former the obvious original of Toby Weller—even to certain close verbal parallelisms.

The Sketch Book appeared in 1819. It is worth noting that The Specter Bridegroom and Rip Van Winkle are really the pioneer short stories in English literature. Such tales as appear in the many volumes of the British essayists—even the most lauded efforts of Addison, Steele, Johnson and Goldsmith—are crude and amorphous in comparison with these exquisite little classics. The narratives which Fielding and Sterne interspersed through their novels and travels lack incident, movement and variety. In short, it was Irving who introduced the English reading public to a delightful form of fiction. It was reserved for two other American authors, Hawthorne and Poe, to perfect the innovation of Irving.

Washington Irving's mind had the receptivity and adjustability which have come to be recognized as distinctly American traits. Just as his visit to the motherland in 1815-32 awoke his affections for the scenery, the homesteads, the men and the manners of old England, so his later visit to the



Peninsula fired his imagination with the chivalry and superstitions of old Spain, and the wars when the waning crescent was waging its death struggle with the cross. To him and to his successors, especially to Prescott and to Motley, Europe owes an enormous debt of gratitude in bringing fresh minds and fancies to the study of her ancient monuments and historical records and for analyzing and criticising them with unprejudiced judgments from advanced standpoints. The Spain that is known to the cultivated European of to-day is largely the Spain which has been touched by the magic of Irving's and Prescott's art, just as the Holland of modern history is the Holland of Motley.

As to the work which Irving and Prescott have done in vitalizing the history of Europe in America Macaulay is a sufficient witness in his essay on Clive, when he finds it strange that while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe "the great actions of our countrymen in the east should, even among ourselves, excite little interest," and concludes that the fault lies with the historians of the latter. Yet even his own brilliant essays have not put Sujah Dowlah in the same plane with Montezuma, or made Robert Clive as picturesque as Francis Pizarro.

The success of Washington Irving and of a group of writers who made New York their headquarters, chief among them being James Kirk Paulding (1779-1860), William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), and James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), was partly the cause and partly the consequence of the transfer of the literary supremacy from Philadelphia to New York. All these men were in touch with the romantic movement which the critics of the more conservative town were inclined to condemn. Paulding was a friend and associate of Irving in his earliest literary venture, the comic periodical, *Salmagundi*, and some of his work which betrays the Irving influence, as *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Johnathan* and *The Dutchman's Fireside*, preserves a mild interest for readers of to-day. But, despite his voluminous work and his political prestige as secretary of the navy under Van Buren, he was completely overshadowed by his younger rivals.

Bryant did not make his home in New York until 1825, but he had already done some of his best work. He was known as the leading disciple of Wordsworth in America, while the Pope fashion still survived in Philadelphia. But he was something more than a mere disciple. He was a part of that movement which must have occurred even if the English poet had never lived. The love of nature was no cult which Bryant needed to acquire from Wordsworth, or whose rites he had to labor to practice. It was a spontaneous expression of genuine emotion. If he had not been forced to dissipate his energies in law and journalism there is no saying to what heights he might not have reached. As it is, we know that before he was twenty he was the author of that stately elegy, *Thanatopsis*, and of *The Waterfowl*, which Matthew Arnold, agreeing with Hartley Coleridge, once called the best short poem in the English language.

"Amo Leatherstocking!" cried Thackeray jubilantly, in a roundabout lucubration on his favorite characters of fiction. Who, indeed, does not love that great simple hearted child of nature, that Don Quixote of the forest primeval, whom James Fenimore Cooper made the hero of five of the most distinctively American novels that were ever written. Natty Bumpo or Leatherstocking is only one in a trio of great figures—Harvey Birch and Long Tom Coffin being the others—which rank with the greatest imaginative conceptions in all fiction.

Harvey Birch is the hero of *The Spy*, which Cooper produced in 1821 in answer to a challenge to do for American history what Walter Scott was doing for the British. The *Pilot* was written to prove to his own satisfaction that, with his knowledge of the sea and of naval matters, he could produce a better novel than *The Pirate*. While thus in a sense two of his books owe their inception to Scott, there never was a greater injustice done to a most original author than in dubbing Cooper the American Scott. G. P. R. James was a cockney Scott, and anyone who wishes to see the difference between a follower in the imitative sense and a follower in mere chronological order may with profit compare James with Cooper.

Cooper's Indians have fallen into disfavor as exaggerations of savage virtues, but at least they present ideal types, whose extraordinary power and picturesqueness made the world for a long time accept them as realities. Even now when our eyes are partly opened, no lover of literature and of man would care to lose Chingachgook and Uncas. And it is with pleasure we welcome the statements of the most recent anthropologists that Cooper came nearer to the truth in his red men than was conceded in the first period of reaction against his art.

It was Robert Montgomery Bird (1803-54) who led this reaction in his *Nick of the Woods*, where he gives a true picture of redskin life, which accords with the sinister view that has been taken of it by vengeful foresters and backwoodsmen. But, as implied above, it is possible that his picture was as one sided as Cooper's. Each may be true to individual men or particular episodes.

If the breath of the prairie and of the forest is found in Cooper's novels as in no other fiction ever written by man he had one powerful rival on the sea. Herman Melville (1819-91), a New Yorker, has much the same faculty of endowing a ship with life and personality. In *Typee* and *Omoo* he likewise shows that he can view the fairyland of Polynesia with eyes of his own. His masterpiece, however, is *Moby Dick* or the *White Whale*, which was really a new thing in literature, expressing a new mood in which the mind may confront the mystery of the ocean. These books were favorites of R. L. Stevenson, they had a strong influence upon him, and he has done them the justice to recall public attention to their merits.

In digressing to these followers of Cooper we have gone out of our due chronological order. Let us return, then, to the America of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It need not detain us long. Only a few names stand out prominently enough for the purposes of this rapid review. Among them are the New Yorkers, Fitz Greene Halleck (1790-1867), who imitated Byron's cynical and satirical manner in *Fanny*, and rivalled Scott and Campbell in *Marco Bozzaris*. Halleck's friend, James Rodman Drake, whose *Culprit Fay* is faintly reminiscent of *The Rape of the Lock*,

and more faintly anticipatory of Keats, and whose American Flag is the finest patriotic lyric which America or any English speaking race has ever produced, though its fame has been overshadowed by the more flamboyant Star Spangled Banner of Francis Scott Key; Lydia Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865), who had more than justice done to her when she is described as the American Mrs. Hemans; and the southerners, John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), whose Horseshoe Robinson still deservedly survives, though with an undeserved precariousness of existence, and William Gilmore Simms (1806-70), whose name has outlived his one time popular but now unregretted works.

It was in the later thirties that the intellectual supremacy which had once been Philadelphia's was in turn transferred from New York to Boston. Boston remained our literary capital until about the last quarter of the nineteenth century and then left no successor. A very considerable group of writers marks this Boston-ward turn of the whirligig of time. Yet the two most considerable and in many respects the most unique and individual writers of this period belong outside of the group. These are Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49) and Walt Whitman (1819-92), who have attracted more attention in continental Europe than any of their contemporaries.

It is not too much to say that if the verdict of the foreign nations be a foretaste of the verdict of posterity, then the unfortunate life of Poe has been crowned by the greatest of posthumous good fortune. At the present time he stands pre-eminently the representative in Europe of American imaginative literature. His works have been translated into nearly all the modern languages. He has taught the world the true secret of the short story. Maupassant is his pupil in prose, as Baudelaire is his pupil in poetry, and Maupassant in his turn has influenced every nation of to-day. The emotional appeal of Poe's strange weird perverse genius, the haunting melody of his verse, the glamour of his melancholy personality, the extraordinary ingenuity of his fiction have made a singular impression upon his readers everywhere.

Yet no American doubts that Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64), part of whose mind resembled a part of Poe's, is

much the greater. He, too, loved to dwell in the shadows and to explore the hidden ways of the human heart. He, too, had a love for the arabesque and the grotesque. He wrote no poems like *The Raven* or *Israfel* or *Ulalume*; poems whose mystic quality eludes the critical scalpel which would seek to dissect and expose their charm, but his prose-poems, such as the little stories of *Rappacini's Daughter* and *Goodman Brown*, stir quite as powerfully the same or kindred emotions, and his prose epic, *The Scarlet Letter*, has a wide reach and a sustained flight which was impossible to Poe. To all save readers whose idiosyncrasies may make them prefer *The Marble Faun* or *The Blithedale Romance*, that first great romance from Hawthorne's pen remains the greatest of all American fictions, and one of the greatest fictions in all literature. It may be remembered, however, that *The Blithedale Romance* was Browning's favorite, perhaps because of its subtle psychological undercurrents. Certainly, the character of Zenobia in the latter book, which is a glorified reminiscence of Margaret Fuller d'Ossoli, is Hawthorne's most impressive bit of feminine portraiture.

It is impossible to say dictatorially which was the greater man, Hawthorne or Emerson. But it was Emerson, who, of all men, undoubtedly did the most to ennoble his countrymen's, and, indeed all, his contemporaries' conception of life. Arnold has told us in one of his best sonnets how the reading of Emerson restored him to a belief in heroism and poetry. In one sense he was a continuation of the Franklin tradition of Americanism, which just then found another exponent in Abraham Lincoln. But to the shrewdness of Lincoln and the utilitarianism of Franklin he added an idealism which he had learned in the first place from Plato. Though he used his wagon for daily needs, he was careful, in his own words, to hitch it to a star. But he had only a conditioned acceptance of the day and its needs. One of his most famous and illuminating sayings is that which he addressed to a neighbor, who rushed in to him with the information that the world was coming to an end. "Very well, we can get along just as well without it." It was this calm acceptance of life as an episode

rimmed around with eternity which gave the seer like quality to his poetry and his prose.

All in all, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82) has been the nation's poet, though he has less insight than Emerson, less breadth than Lowell, less music than Poe, and less energy than Whitman. He, himself, mildly condemned the idea of a national poet and would have substituted for it Goethe's conception of a world poet. And such, with his varied stores borrowed from every age and every clime, he was, in a fashion. To the Anglo Saxon mind at least he stood for many years as the representative American which Poe was to continental Europe. His popularity in England and the United States was second only to that of Tennyson. His intellectual value as an educator of his own people can hardly be overestimated. Joining in the Teutonic movement, which was dragging England from her provincialism, he opened our eyes to the literary treasures which the English and ourselves had so long neglected. Nor was he merely a borrower from abroad. His exquisite art, his sure taste, his unfailing tact, assimilated those treasures and made them our own. All Anglo Saxondom is incalculably richer because Longfellow lived and wrote. But he performed his work with so noble a simplicity that we have often been in danger of overlooking its worth.

Concerning those famous friends of Emerson's, his comrades in the so-called transcendental movement—Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888) and Henry David Thoreau (1817-62)—it may be noted that the fame of the first has waned and that of the latter has waxed greater since their respective deaths. This may be because the belief in Thoreau's sincerity has survived the fierce attacks of Lowell, while the Orphic philosopher reveals himself more and more for an unconscious poseur as he passes away into the nudity of the grave. Whether Alcott had any real message to deliver, or whether he had merely filled himself with the east wind, could only be determined in one way from the flatulent memoranda which he left him behind in print. Thoreau's volumes, on the other hand, full as they are of poetry and nature worship, gain in meaning with the increased appreciation of poetry and

nature. He was a humorist and an eccentric, if you will, but he had a humorous understanding of his own eccentricities, while Alcott had only a solemn acquiescence in the false views of himself which deceived both him and his friends.

Poet, critic, essayist, satirist, and statesman, James Russell Lowell (1819-91) was the most brilliant and accomplished of all American men of letters. His brilliancy, indeed, was so ubiquitous that it diverts our attention from the real soundness that underlies all his work. So dazzling is the flash, so stunning the report that we hardly take note of the straightness of the aim. Nay, as we see position after position stormed by such an onset of epigram, such a Rupert charge of metaphor and illustration we are half tempted to doubt whether anything so magnificent can also be war. Then we pull ourselves together and remember that the Biglow Papers, whereby he won his first great fame as a satirist, was a mighty engine in preparing New England for the anti slavery contest, that its fiery scorn for temporizing politicians did much to unmask their hypocrisies and their subtle self deceptions, that his *Fable for Critics* and his various essays and addresses contain literary judgments as well as pyrotechnic wit, that in *Extreme Unction* and *The Present Crisis*, he produced two of the most impressive lyrics in the language, and that in the *Harvard Commemoration Ode* he reached the high water mark of American poetry.

Less broad and less deep than Lowell, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes also embarrasses by an affluence of cleverness. Indeed, Lowell characterizes Holmes in verses which would just as well fit Lowell himself:

"A Leyden jar always full charged, from which flit  
The electrical tingles of hit and after hit."

As if to emphasize the curious likeness in unlikeness between these two great Americans, the metaphor by which Holmes hit off the exuberant and effervescent animal spirits of Lowell have frequently been misquoted as a tribute to Holmes himself: "He was always a quart of champagne ahead of the rest of us." In vivacity and versatility Holmes could keep up his end, either literary or conversational, with anyone in

Boston at the time when Boston deserved that title of the Athens of America which had once belonged to Philadelphia. His poems have the champagne quality he attributed to Lowell, though they seldom have Lowell's deep undercurrent of thought and passion. Yet one of them, his own favorite, *The Chambered Nautilus*, has an uplift of sentiment which shows what he might have done had he taken himself more seriously. Well might Whittier say of this poem at a first reading, "It is booked for immortality." For the rest, it is in poems like *The Last Leaf* and *My Aunt*, poems which hold their balance with exquisite skill just on the edge between laughter and tears that Holmes excels any man who ever wrote English. He has been compared to *Praed*, to *Peacock*, to *Matthew Prior*. But in the field which these men also occupied he is incomparable. John G. Saxe (1816-17) was, if you will, an American *Praed* or *Prior*. There never was an English Holmes.

The same surprising wit, the same stimulating humor were carried by Holmes into his prose works. His *Breakfast Table* series are masterly exponents of what good table talk ought to be. His novels, *Elsie Venner* and *The Guardian Angel*, are infinitely ingenious.

In this New England circle of authors it was a woman who first captured the civilized world. The success of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is one of the stupendous facts of literary history. It overspread America in a day and all Europe in another. It penetrated wherever the English language was known. It was translated wherever English was unknown. In the United States it met with a storm of applause on the one hand, and of opposition on the other, which undoubtedly precipitated the inevitable conflict between the states. No single book ever performed so great a service to so great a cause. To-day we may grant its power and its passion, but as works of art we must concede the superiority of Mrs. Stowe's studies of New England life—*Old Town Folks*, and *The Minister's Wooing*.

Of Walt Whitman it is impossible to obtain any consensus of critical opinion. It is agreed, to be sure, that he was a great elemental force. English writers like Stevenson and Swin-



burne have told us how profoundly he affected them. As Uncle Tom's Cabin assisted in unloosing the shackles of slavery wherever and under whatever forms slavery still existed, so Leaves of Grass assisted in emancipating the human mind from the superstitions and conventions it was outgrowing. "What cannot be questioned," says Edward Dowden, "is that in him we meet a man not shaped out of the old world clay, nor cast in any old world mould, and hard to name by any old world name." Loud and coarse he may be, as other prophets have been, sounding, as he himself says, his barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world, but the yawp has been heard and heeded as a voice from the wilderness proclaiming the universal brotherhood of man and announcing the advent of that higher and nobler democracy of which the United States is at present the highest and noblest exponent.

Akin to Walt Whitman in his new world spirit and in his rejection of the false conventionalisms, the prejudices, social and intellectual, from which even the new world has not yet quite freed itself, Samuel C. Clemens, or Mark Twain, as he prefers to call himself, substitutes for Whitman's optimism a peculiarly American contempt, good natured toward the offender, but passionate and unforgiving toward offences which Whitman tolerated as only local and temporary. It is because affectation and sham and pretense and outworn tradition offend his sensitive sincerity that he has been driven to sarcastic utterance in such masterly invectives as *A Yankee at King Arthur's Court*, and *The Prince and the Pauper*. The very book by which he won his first fame, *The Innocents Abroad*, is most effectively humorous in its satire on Americans, who accept at second hand the prejudices and insincerities of conventional European criticism. In his novels of American life he has broken fresh ground. His *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* rank among the great original books of the world. They have the vitality of a genius which insists on seeing with its own eyes.

In curious contrast with these rougher diamonds of our modern literature are a school of writers, who may be compared to the most exquisitely chased and chiselled gems. Henry James, by universal acknowledgment, stands at the

head of this school. He has carried subtility of thought and refinement of expression sheer to the vanishing point. He baffles, eludes, he even irritates, but he never fails to extort admiration.

Unescapably American, despite his conquest of the very essence of European, and especially of Gallic, culture, he shows how completely capable is the native Yankee of the most brilliant exterior polish.

William Dean Howells, while belonging to the same school as Mr. James, has certain affiliations with Mr. Clemens. Though his work possesses a dainty charm, which challenges comparison with the most delicate filagree work of French pens, he has a native shrewdness of humor and a western self reliance which make him look askance at the pretension which everywhere in the human alloy debases performance. He would not take on trust the foreign estimate of foreign values. His first books dealing with Italy resemble Mark Twain's in their determined use of an American point of view, though his point of view is that of a more cultivated, if less acute, American. His novels of America, with all their external graces, have a sturdy recognition of the new spirit now invading American life and transforming it into something which, having learned the lesson of the past, must become the teacher of the future.

Two of the most nearly perfect poets England ever produced, Matthew Arnold and Tennyson, each described one of John Greenleaf Whittier's (1809-82) lyrics as a perfect poem. Tennyson's choice was *My Playmate*, Arnold's *The Schoolhouse*. Tennyson moreover declared that in some of his descriptions of scenery and wild flowers Whittier would rank with Wordsworth. In other qualities Burns would be a closer parallel. Both the Scotch and the American poet were born tillers of the soil and their education was self acquired. Each possessed a native note of great sweetness and power. But Burns was the victim of an austere creed which he rejected, while Whittier was the willing disciple of a creed, austere in morals, but gentle in doctrine. Both the austerity and the gentleness are represented in his poems. On occasion, however, he could exhibit all the wrath of a Hebrew prophet.

His anti-slavery lyrics quiver with passion. In the finest of all his lyrics, Ichabod, the two moods are strangely blended. There is hot scorn for the sin which the abolitionist poet conceived that Daniel Webster had committed in his seventh of March speech, but there is infinite pity for the sinner. Whittier's acknowledged masterpiece, Snowbound, is the New England counterpart to Burns' Cotter's Saturday Night.

Four years after *The Innocents Abroad* had won Mark Twain an international fame, a couple of younger men, Francis Bret Harte and John Hay, sprang up as rival exponents of the breezy, vigorous, and audacious west. Harte's *Heathen Chinees* and Hay's *Pike County Ballads* appeared almost simultaneously and ran the rounds of the press in every English speaking country. Then it was discovered that Harte had already published prose and verse of extraordinary verve and originality. His condensed novels were considered as funny as Thackeray's *Prize Novelists*, and his *Luck of Roaring Camp* and *Other Tales*, though it reminded some old world critics of Dickens, showed that a new force and one to be reckoned with, had been added to literature. These little masterpieces carry on the tradition of the American aptitude for the short story. They vividly interpret a rude civilization, with all its roughness, its ferocity, its lawlessness, but they lay bare at the same time the vital virtues that underlie the surface. In Harte's hands the coarsest and commonest clay turns clean as he shapes it into artistic form. Dickens had something of the same quality, but Dickens' cockney Apollos of the gutter always pose; Harte's western gamblers, harlots, and miners are simple and unselfconscious. He wrote much that was good in maturer life, but nothing equal to these first outpourings of his mind.

As to John Hay, we all know that he rose to be one of the most accomplished ambassadors whom the new world ever sent over to the old and one of the greatest secretaries of state whom our country has ever known. His chief literary monument is his *The Life of Lincoln* which he wrote in collaboration with John Nicolay.

A rapid survey such as this can only take in the greatest names. Yet something should be said, if even in the most

hurried manner, of that school of humorists, with Artemus Ward (Charles Farrar Browne) at its head which preceded Mark Twain. Artemus Ward was a genuine fun maker and the character of the Genial Showman which he assumed was a distinct addition to the gallery of American literary portraits. Indeed it still remains one of the most life like characters in all fiction. Some of Browne's fellow jesters, John Phoenix, Petroleum V. Nasby and others succeeded at least in amusing two continents.

Mention should also be made of Mark Twain's collaborator in *The Gilded Age* (a novel most successful in its dramatized form). Charles Dudley Warner's humor was at once less forceful and more urbane than Mr. Clemens'. Like his predecessors, Donald G. Mitchell and George William Curtis, he belonged to the school of Washington Irving.

Among leading novelists not already mentioned Marion Crawford and Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett occupy the first rank. Mr. Crawford, born in Italy of American parents, has made his chief successes in romances of his natal soil, especially in the trilogy of which *Saracinesca* is the masterpiece. The scenes of this trilogy are laid in Rome, and they present at once the most brilliant and the most truthful interpretation of that splendid panorama of modern life in the eternal capital which Bourget, Zola, Hall Caine and Marie Corelli have also attempted to paint. Mrs. Burnett, born in England of English parents, has made America her home and has done her best work in descriptions of varied aspects of American life.

Less vigorous but more exquisite than Mrs. Burnett are her sisters of the pen, Sarah Orne Jewett, Rose Terry Cooke, and Mary E. Wilkins, whose vignettes of New England life are delightfully real. Miss Mary Noailles Murfree discovered to literature the picturesque life of the east Tennessee mountaineer, as George W. Cable with an even surer pen had already revealed that of the Louisiana creole. Similar work has been done the northwest by Hamlin Garland, for post-bellum Virginia by Thomas Nelson Page, for the Georgia of to-day by Joel Chandler Harris, for Boston by Judge Robert Grant and for New York city by Henry C. Bunner, Brander

Matthews, Edgar Fawcett, Henry Harland, Mrs. Van Rensselaer Cruger and Mrs. Burton Harrison.

Four writers who refuse the convenience of classification are Edward Everett Hale, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Amelie Rives and Edgar Saltus. Only as the unclassifiable can they be mentioned in one breath. Dr. Hale, the last survival from the Attic days of Boston, is the soul of whim dwelling in a unitarian mind. His best work is that solemnly patriotic story, *The Man Without a Country*, which at the beginning of the war did so much to strengthen a spirit of loyalty to the union. Mrs. Phelps-Ward, in her passionate control of passion, is a feminine embodiment of the New England conscience. Miss Rives, who is now the Princess Troubotzky, exhibits in prose and poetry all the alertness and exuberance of the south. Mr. Saltus is one of the wittiest of Frenchmen compelled by the accident of his American birth and ancestry to express himself in epigrammatic English.

As realism was the shibboleth of the generation now passing from the field, romanticism is that of the latest arrival. Among the leaders of the new movement should be mentioned Winston Churchill, Mary Johnston, the prematurely deceased Paul Leicester Ford, and the veteran Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who has aroused a life of scientific study and achievement with a brilliant garland from the flower garden of fancy.

## THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER.

BY MEDILL McCORMICK.

[Medill McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune and the Cleveland Leader; born Chicago, May 16, 1877; educated in English and American schools and graduated from Yale university; successively reporter, editorial writer, staff correspondent in the Philippines, assistant publisher and publisher of the Chicago Tribune; acquired control of the Cleveland Leader 1905, and is now publisher of both newspapers.]

The American newspaper of the present day is a development—one of the greatest—of the generation that is passing away. Seventy five years ago the making of newspapers was a diversion. Later it became a means to an end—the political success of the party to which the editor was an adherent, and the attainment of that party's success in all its efforts. To-day the American newspaper ranks foremost as a universal educator; the making of it has become a business as well as a profession, than which no other demands a more widely extended and diversified knowledge of the arts, science, literature and history.

One hundred years ago, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the newspaper was just beginning in this country. In 1784 the first daily newspaper was attempted and so slow was its development that in 1800 daily papers were being issued in but four or five of the larger cities of the country.

At that time there were 200 newspapers of all sorts published in the country. That meant a newspaper for each 26,450 of the population.

There are now more than 23,000 newspapers published in this country regularly, or one for every 350 of the population. In the state of Illinois there are fifty five newspapers with a circulation of more than 1,000 and in the entire country there are more than 6,000 papers the circulation of each of which is above 1,000, running up in some cases as high as 300,000 for one newspaper. There are seven hundred Sunday newspapers published in the country and an infinite variety

of journals which appeal to particular classes. There are fourteen publications for the deaf, dumb and blind, 6 matrimonial papers, of which four are published in Chicago, and 62 which treat on anarchy, single tax, communism and socialism. And all this when but 100 years ago there were but 4 daily newspapers in the entire country!

In comparison with the conditions at that time it is impressive to glance through the following list of the states and territories of the union with the number of newspapers in each at the beginning of 1905:

STATE.	NEWSPAPERS.	STATE.	NEWSPAPERS.
Arizona .....	66	Mississippi .....	251
Arkansas .....	289	Minnesota .....	770
Alabama .....	290	Michigan .....	810
Alaska .....	14	Massachusetts .....	654
Colorado .....	374	Missouri .....	1048
Connecticut .....	173	Nevada .....	35
California .....	783	New Mexico .....	63
Carolina (North) .....	286	New Hampshire .....	94
Carolina (South) .....	156	Nebraska .....	659
Delaware .....	40	New Jersey .....	890
District of Columbia .....	82	New York .....	1951
Dakota (North) .....	233	Ohio .....	1189
Dakota (South) .....	898	Oklahoma .....	308
Florida .....	183	Oregon .....	240
Georgia .....	395	Pennsylvania .....	1524
Indiana .....	851	Rhode Island .....	59
Iowa .....	1132	Texas .....	851
Illinois .....	1746	Tennessee .....	296
Idaho .....	99	Utah .....	83
Indian Territory .....	164	Vermont .....	76
Kentucky .....	338	Virginia .....	249
Kansas .....	736	West Virginia .....	217
Louisiana .....	214	Wyoming .....	45
Montana .....	99	Washington .....	292
Maine .....	158	Wisconsin .....	732
Maryland .....	206		

The development of the American newspaper in the early part of the last century was almost as slow as the development in the art of printing. After the invention of type by Gutenberg three and one half centuries passed with scarcely any improvement in the art of printing, until, when newspapers were published in this country in 1784 and a few years previous they were the product of almost infinite labor.

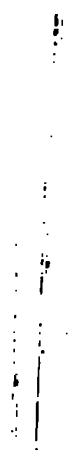
Printing presses of those days were primitive in the extreme. The type was large, poorly formed, the presses were of wood and difficult of operation and the paper itself











of a grade inferior in many cases to the poorest manufactured at the present day. As all printing was done by hand and several separate and distinct operations were necessary to print every copy taken from the forms the circulation of the publications of those early days was of necessity small.

Those publications of the early days of the nineteenth century, immediately succeeding 1800 and previous, were not newspapers as the word is understood to-day. They were bulletins that contained the dates of sailing of the few seagoing boats, time tables of the stagecoaches, announcements of matters of political importance, in limited number, and advertisements of recently imported shipments. There was no news except for the political announcements and some limited gossip that occasionally found its way into print, credited to "Captain Ellsworth, who has just returned from the interior," or "D. Smith, who has come back from Canada."

There was no attempt made to chronicle the happenings of the day and any foreign news that found its way into the columns came by letter or by word of mouth from the captain of a sailing vessel and was printed as the writer or the captain told it, with all the personal tone preserved.

The type of these papers was set by hand and assembled in a large frame or form without regard to artistic arrangement. The form with its type was placed in the bed of the wooden printing press and an inked roller run over it by hand two or three times. Then the paper, first carefully dampened with water was laid upon the type and the upper face of the press was brought down by a lever. After the printing the paper was laid away to dry, which usually took some time, before being circulated.

This slow process made it impossible to admit of much circulation and two or three hundred copies taken from the press was regarded as an excellent day's work by the editor, who was usually in addition, publisher, typesetter, pressman, and circulator.

But improvement began to come with the succeeding years of the century—and with improvements in the mechanical part of production the development of the newspaper

began by strides that grew from steps and gradually increased.

In 1810 some iron presses were brought into the country from England and seven years later, in 1817, George Clymer, of Philadelphia, invented a lever press that was an improvement over everything that had been brought forward before, reducing the manual labor required and increasing the speed with which papers could be turned out.

Then, in 1822, Daniel Treadwell of Boston, invented the first power press, which was operated by the American Bible society, of Boston, for printing tracts and other literature sent out by the society. The power was furnished by a pair of mules. It was found impracticable to adopt these presses to newspaper work but the idea of a press operated by other than hand power bore fruit and in 1829 and 1830 a Washington hand press was invented and followed rapidly by other inventions, until seventeen years later Richard M. Hoe invented a cylinder power press that more than doubled the capacity of printing establishments. It is to be noted however that these inventions and improvements were made in printing establishments other than newspaper offices, where the same methods of printing—the old fashioned hand press—prevailed for several years after others were using improved machinery. In 1812 stereotyping was introduced from England and the next year the New Testament was printed from plates, but it was not until 1861 that the invention was utilized in newspaper making.

Yet the American newspaper continued to improve despite the refusal of its editors and proprietors to take advantage of the new inventions that were being adopted elsewhere.

At first, as has been said, the newspaper was merely a bulletin that gave a few important facts to its readers with no attempt to furnish them with an account, no matter how meager, of the events of the day in the country or the world. Gradually, however, the personality of the editors began to dominate the publications. Before 1850 the custom of communication between public men by open letters gave the editor the opportunity of addressing himself directly to the people who read his paper and he printed long editorials,

until newspapers began to be regarded, and for reason, as instruments for the expression of opinion by the editor. News traveled in those days by letter, or by word of mouth more rapidly than the newspaper could disseminate it. The newspaper followed with comments upon the events.

During the first half of the century, as the political parties organized and developed their strength, newspapers increased in number rapidly—the editors being men of prominence in their respective parties and usually wealthy, as the publication of the newspaper of that day was not very profitable.

Politicians and men in public life were encouraged to write letters giving their opinions on matters of importance and they were quick to respond. Soon every journal became recognized as the organ of some party, the spokesman of some particular statesman. As new statesmen developed and politicians attained greater prominence new papers were established, the politician himself being the editor often and reaching his constituents through the columns of his own publication. The papers were entirely subservient to their respective parties and liberty of the press was not known nor wished for.

Gradually others began to write letters and the letters were published. From criticising persons and parties and discussing events that had happened writers began to relate occurrences of interest to the community and thus began the publication of news.

But no matter of news was regarded of sufficient importance to displace the letter from some politician or the editorial of the owner of the paper. News was regarded as of importance secondary to these. In the choice between articles of news, foreign news took precedence over information concerning events in this country and domestic affairs frequently of great importance were passed over for a narration of foreign conditions.

There was no system of collecting news during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. The capital invested was not sufficient to permit of any outlay to obtain news in advance of the regular mails. The reports received in the

mails came usually in the form of letters which were forwarded by their recipient to the editor and published. Letters written directly to the editor were always semi-editorial in character, the writer freely expressing opinions and coloring his account according to his prejudice. The drivers of mail coaches, travelers, peddlers and captains of sailing vessels and river boats who went great distances were the reporters of that time. Their arrival in a town meant news for at least a day and the next issue of the paper would relate the stories or comment upon them.

News events in larger cities were reprinted in the smaller towns when the publication from the city reached the local editor. No regular correspondents were stationed anywhere and the editor of a paper in Illinois, upon receiving a copy of a paper published in New York would reprint whatever of the matter he believed of interest to his subscribers.

News of the war of 1812, the conflict with Mexico and the numerous Indian outbreaks following the war of 1812 was obtained by the slow process of waiting for the official reports to be made to the government or private letters from men and officers at the front.

The Mexican war, however, stimulated the public demand for news and gave to the newspapers their first great stimulus. Circulations increased until it was a mechanical impossibility to supply and circulate papers in sufficient numbers to meet the demands. It roused the editors all over the country to the fact that the people cared not so much for individual opinions on general problems as for early and complete information of what was going on. In every village and town the arrival of the mail, during this struggle with Mexico, found crowds gathered about the postoffice. The postmaster or some subscriber to the newspaper became the center of an interested throng clamoring for news of the war. The paper was posted in some conspicuous place and became a bulletin for the rest of the townspeople. It was the beginning of the bulletin system that is conducted in connection with the great dailies to-day—the bulletin board where the important news of the day is told briefly for the benefit of the public before the complete account can be put in type.

With the organization of the voters of the country into political parties and the development of such questions as the tariff, banking, state rights, acquisition of territory, foreign policy and currency the press was turned to by the leaders of that time as a valuable as well as easily available means of placing their arguments before the public for and against the mooted questions. They sought though to convince rather than inform and argued without encouraging discussion excepting such as was favorable.

This condition brought forth some of the most brilliant scholars and writers of the age and placed them at the heads of the newspaper. The editor of a newspaper sought to educate his readers on certain political questions and lead them to support him. The discussion of the slavery question developed writers of force who soon wielded great influence. It became the period of great writers, the time of the so-called great editors of the type of Horace Greeley. These men with their praise or blame made or unmade politicians and public men, changed or molded the policy of political parties, controlled conventions, nominated candidates, even shaped the country's history at critical points and wielded an influence greater than statesmen. Then the editor was greater than his newspaper and dominated it; the newspaper was the vehicle that carried the character of the editor into every part of the country that he believed could be affected.

Although there were improvements made in the method of printing newspapers during this time the developments were slow and unimportant in comparison with recent inventions. Cylinder presses came into general use between 1830 and 1860 for the printing of daily papers. The weekly and monthly publications continued to be printed by the old style hand press, and their circulation was held down to a few hundred copies and made no marked increase. Even with the presses upon which the dailies were printed the speed was limited to a few hundred copies an hour. The white paper used consisted of rags and much of the material was imported at considerable cost from Austria and Italy. Few newspapers, under the conditions prevalent at this time, were published with even a fair profit and the uncertainty



of fair financial returns from the business retarded its progress greatly. Inventors found that their ingenuity was rewarded more greatly in other lines of effort and as a result they paid little attention to the mechanical needs of the newspaper. Men connected with the newspapers were not practical men who could find and remedy faults and suggest improvements. The improvements that were adopted were first installed in book printing establishments and by job printers. The newspapers followed rather than led in the march of advancement during the first half of the century.

The change came just before the civil war. The New York Herald is generally credited with being the first newspaper to depart from the old time methods and devote its columns to the publication of the news of the world gathered day by day and presented to its readers with all possible speed. It was an innovation that was not well received by the editors of the country and dire predictions of failure were freely made. But the public approved of the radical departure. The New York Herald found that the public approved of its policy and the editors of the country rapidly learned their mistake. The founding of the new school of journalism dates from that time.

Finding that its policy met with approval the founder and editor of the New York Herald spent money to obtain the news of the country and the world before anyone else and present it in advance of everybody to the readers of the publication. A special system of correspondents was established throughout the country and the collection of news by special agents and its dissemination became of first importance in the making of the newspaper.

Other newspaper editors, seeing the success of the Herald, followed its example, and, like it, they prospered. Still others, however, holding fast to the old ideas, refused to supply their readers with the news, and were compelled in time to go out of business.

Then, just as this new order of journalism was well launched the civil war began. There was a general demand for the first and the fullest report of every movement of that great conflict, with all the detail of its progress. The larger

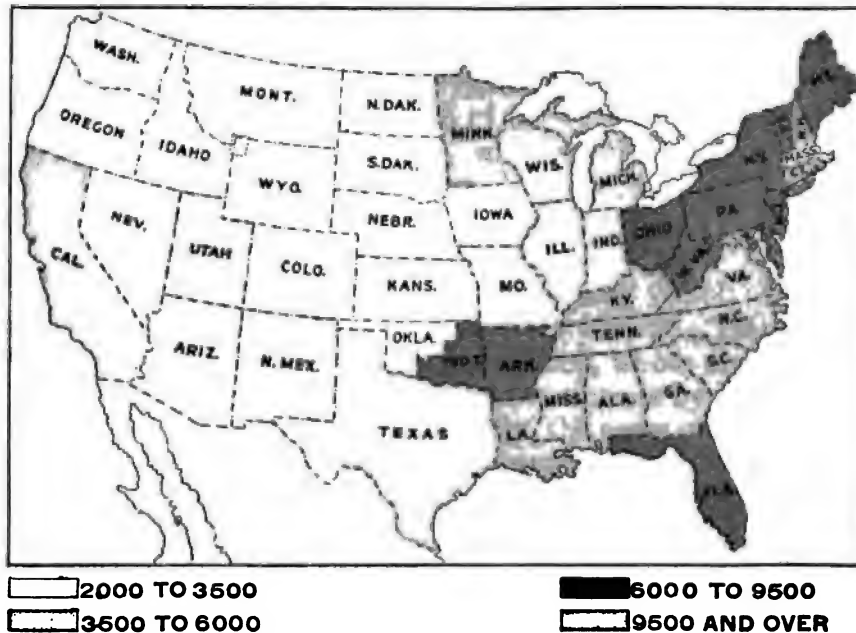
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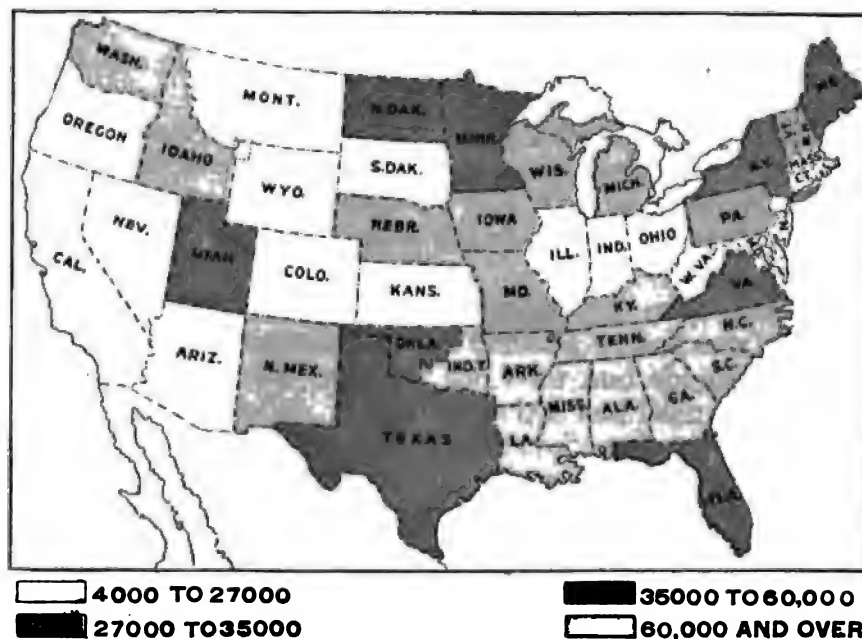
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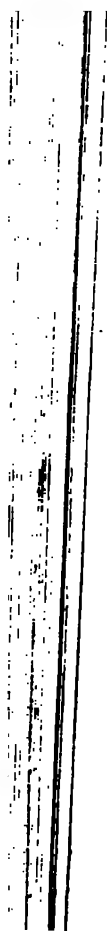


### INHABITANTS TO EACH WEEKLY PUBLICATION



### INHABITANTS TO EACH DAILY PUBLICATION





cities of the country were connected by telegraph and the people throughout the country, interested intensely by the long years that led up to the war, were on the qui vive.

Then the development of the American newspaper may be truly said to have begun. Men of action were developed in the old time writers of editorials, or, where this was impossible, succeeded them, and the press became an institution, journalism was created, and newspaper making had become a business that went forward by leaps and bounds.

The cable took the place of the slow sailing vessel. The telegraph succeeded the stagecoach and the courier. Trained correspondents and news gatherers appeared, whose aim was not to convince with eloquent language nor educate by preaching but to write, simply and intelligently, the news of the day and get it to their papers as quickly as possible.

The new impetus permeated the mechanical departments of the newspapers and the new influence had the same effect here and in all the other departments as in the editorial department of the paper. Double cylinder presses supplanted the old cylinder presses and machines capable of printing, pasting, and folding twenty thousand complete papers an hour were perfected. Stereotyping was introduced to save type, time, and labor, and paper manufactured from wood pulp took the place of that made from rags.

In a word the newspaper, with giant strides, went forward until it reached what seemed to be the climax, and then—continued to develop. Every demand was supplied by the paper. It had caught up with the age, but unsatisfied and impatient, it took the lead, a step ahead of the foremost spirit of the age.

As soon as one press was found inadequate or imperfect the manufacturers responded to the demand with a new one. Improvements were the order of the hour and competition became fast and furious. A reading public had been created by the civil war, and a demand for news followed that would not be denied. Every person that could read or write became a newspaper reader.

The collection of news had been reduced by this time to something like a system. Each paper, however, was for itself

and the cost of transmitting intelligence began to prove enormous. So great did the cost become of getting news of the progress of the civil war from the front that a number of New York newspapers entered into an arrangement by which the same news should be sent to each of them, and the cost divided by the number of newspapers receiving the service. In an effort to still further reduce the cost of the compilation of reports of the war and in reply to an insistent demand from editors all over the country in the smaller as well as the larger towns whose readers were clamoring for the news, this association of New York newspaper editors decided to sell the service. From this sprung the Associated Press, the greatest combination in the world for securing the news of current events. Its system of collecting news has been reduced to such a state of perfection that at the present an event in any part of the world is reported in full—or as fully as its value warrants—within twelve hours. Special correspondents from all the great metropolitan newspapers, however, are still maintained in all the large cities of the world, whose sole duty it is to gather the current events of importance and send reports to their papers.

Associations have been formed in the old world similar to the associated press, and the service is exchanged. No event of importance escapes attention and publicity.

The old order of journalism gave way to the new so suddenly that many of the faults of the former were not eradicated but remained to hinder and retard the development of the newspaper. One by one they were lost, however, as the pioneer editors, working without precedent to guide them, struggled onward, and others swung to their cause, imitating, developing, and improving rapidly as the years went on.

The old features were not dropped at once. For a time the old policy of making the newspaper subservient to the political party of which its editor was a member still maintained and influenced all its policies and its features. They continued to present only one side of party politics for a time. They continued to try to induce their readers to permit them to think for them. But the newspaper worked out its own destruction in this policy. Its very efforts to educate the

people were crowned with such success that the demand for all the news uncolored and with all phases set forth had to be met. This change, the last and the greatest, came slowly and may not yet be said to have been completed. Yet to-day there is no newspaper that refuses to permit its readers to view both sides of a question; no newspaper that is entirely subservient to party politics; no newspaper that will support any party or man without protest.

In the development of the newspaper during the war schools of journalism were established that narrowed the development to certain channels for a time. The pioneers were imitated by others who followed closely the new lines set down. But the aim of all of them was, chiefly, to publish the news of the world, and publish it as soon as possible, and to-day these old schools have been merged into the system that has for its object that single thing—to gather the news of the world and all the news and publish it as quickly as possible.

The rapidity of the progress of newspaper development from the paper of sixty years ago to the metropolitan daily of the present is so apparent that a review of it is useless. A comparison of the old time Washington hand press and the new monster machine that prints the papers of to-day is indicative of the development. The former, with a tremendous outlay of time, labor, and patience on the part of the operators, printed slowly and imperfectly; the latter, requiring eighteen months to build, turns out two hundred and sixty papers a second, sixteen hundred every minute, receiving paper at one end from a roll containing two miles or more of white paper and turning out at the other end the printed, folded, pasted, and counted newspapers.

These great machines are composed of more than two thousand separate pieces, weigh thirty tons, and contain steel, iron, brass, wood, and cloth. The white paper is fed from two sides of the machine, and faster than the eye can follow is fed through the rapidly revolving rollers, over and under the cylinders bearing the plates from which the pages are printed, and emerges at two sides of the front of the press in the form of the finished newspaper. The mechanism as a



whole is so delicate that the slightest imperfection or break, the loosening of a roller or the breaking of a pin, is noted as quickly as it occurs.

Every evolution and development, almost without exception, of the past years in electricity is made use of in the production of the great daily and—times have indeed changed—no invention, no matter be it ever so costly, or apparently useless, is discarded without a fair trial if it embodies the possibility of making the production of the newspaper more complete.

The enterprise and originality of the American newspaper has made it second to none. At the present the newspaper struggles with one problem and only one, under which come all the lesser questions. That is, how to obtain all the news of all the world and present it to the readers promptly, accurately, and fully?

The increased cost of production has inevitably increased the importance of the commercial side of the newspaper. What was once almost wholly a profession is now largely a business. The telegraph tolls of large newspapers run from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a month, and the bill for white paper from \$400,000 to \$800,000 a year. The item of postage alone on a great newspaper to-day would equal the entire expense of a journal before the Mexican war.

The raw material—paper and ink—in penny papers frequently cost more than the wholesale price per copy, while the publisher expects to meet a loss on every copy of the Sunday paper sold.

The percentage of earnings in the volume of business done has diminished steadily for the last fifteen years. The public gets more for a smaller price while the publisher depends upon the increased volume of business to maintain his profit. Six of the newspapers in the country do a business approximating \$3,000,000 a year, while several times that many do a business of \$1,000,000 or more.

The cable is brought into use daily between the continents for the transmission of news in a condensed form. Leased wires stretch across the country from newspapers in one group to others receiving the service or from one newspaper

to another. The special correspondent is in the van in the march of progress. He is at the front in battles, with the men who fight and with the men who plan the war. He is with the exploring party pushing forward into new and unexplored lands and with him go the telegraph and the telephone to hurry to his paper—and to the public—the news of events as they occur.

Trained staffs report the events of great importance—as national conventions. Telegraph wires to the speakers' platform in the convention send the news of the gathering to the papers as fast as it develops. The speeches are flashed through by a code that has been evolved by the demand for speed and almost before the orator has finished his speech extras throughout the country are in the hands of readers whose comments are heard before the next speaker at the gathering has finished his peroration. The news of an election is known all over the country before the close of the day on which the ballots are cast. The assassination or coronation of a king or dignitary is known before the night or day that witnesses it has fallen upon this country.

The men who make this possible are engaged in what is to them the greatest of all professions. There are geniuses among them. They are usually men of great force. Only those who work win. The loiterer is lost. It is a profession that demands everything. Honor, honesty, ability, an infinite capacity for hard work—Carlyle's definition of genius—are the qualifications necessary for it. It endures no shams. For them it has nothing but failure; for the others, influence—success.

## PROGRESS IN THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING INDUSTRY.

BY WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

[William S. Rossiter, statistician and publishing expert; born Westfield, Mass., September 9, 1861; graduated from Amherst college, 1884; entered journalism and was on the staff of the New York Tribune and New York Press; was in the printing and publishing business from 1890-9 and in 1900 was placed in charge of the publications of the twelfth census of the United States; appointed expert special agent of the census office for printing and publishing 1901, and chief clerk of the bureau, 1904; Author of several books of short stories and many contributions to magazines and of statistical papers.]

When judged by modern ideas of progress, the art of printing was nearly stationary for four hundred years. Printing has been the most generous contributor to human progress, the handmaiden of all the arts and industries, and, perhaps, the most powerful factor in making the nineteenth century the leader of all centuries in genius and invention; but it has been reserved for the last two decades to record the most substantial advances in the many and exacting details connected with the satisfactory production of a printed page. The invention of the 10 cylinder press, by Robert Hoe, in 1853, was declared by the lords of the privy council of England to be one of the greatest steps ever made in printing. But in the far more difficult field of machine composition, inventors made no appreciable progress during the greater portion of the nineteenth century; as late as 1880 the extended report of the tenth census of the United States upon this industry, after presenting evidence of the activity and progress of the period, declared:

"While all these improvements have been following each other in the printing and delivery of newspapers, the ingenuity of man has not yet invented a substitute for the setting of type by hand, the method of composition remaining precisely the same as it was when printing was first invented."

The first step toward the solution of this problem was taken in 1886, by Ottmar Mergenthaler, who invented the linotype machine, which shortly afterwards came into gen-


erous use, and has been followed by several ingenious and successful inventions similar in purpose. Although only beginning to be felt, the effect of these inventions is already significant, and in them doubtless may be found the cause of many of the abrupt changes which are shown on contrasting the figures given for 1890 and 1900 in the tables for newspapers and periodicals. These remarkable inventions can not fail to affect more and more the future progress of the industry.

Types have no existence in the product of the linotype machine; the unit is the line, which is known as a slug. By pressing the keys the operator assembles brass matrices, and upon the completion of a line these are pressed forward against a bar of molten type metal, casting the line, or slug, in condition for printing. By continuation of this process the matrices return automatically to their receptacles.

Other inventors also attacked the problem of mechanical composition, and there have been placed upon the market the Lanston monotype, a combination of a keyboard by which a strip of paper is punched, and a machine casting individual types from matrices indicated by the passage of compressed air through the holes in the punched paper strip; the Goodson graphotype, also a combination of two machines, operated by electricity, and casting individual types; and the Scudder monoline, a Canadian machine somewhat like the linotype, except that the matrices are located upon a disk. The monoline has not been placed upon the American market.

Mechanical composition and distribution of foundry type are accomplished successfully by the Dow, Simplex, Empire, and other machines.

The question of wages has been somewhat affected by the introduction of these radical departures in composition. In 1850 a compositor in New York city received \$1.50 per day, or \$9 per week. Ordinary job compositors now receive \$21, and operators upon machines receive considerably more. It is the opinion of many large employers of labor in this industry, that the invention of labor saving machines has merely served to increase the demand for labor in new channels, so that the number of wage earners employed has actually increased rather than diminished. The introduction of machine



composition has been of decided benefit to the employee, offering a new field of employment at high wages. This fact is illustrated by the experience of the Typographical union of New York city, in 1900, when called upon hastily to supply 150 men for a special piece of work in connection with the city printing. Every effort was made to secure them, but in that great center of population and labor it was impossible to obtain, at short notice more than 100 men fitted for the work.

During the decade type founding made marked progress in several of its branches. The Benton punch cutter and the Barth type casting machine enabled the founder to dispense with much of the laborious and expensive detail connected with his calling, and to reduce materially the cost of type to the printer. To some extent the use of these machines offset the inroads which the use of machine composition made into the business of the type founder, and permitted him to increase greatly the output of special faces and artistic display type.

In the measurement of type bodies a revolution was effected. A uniform series, known as the point system, was introduced about 1890, supplanting everywhere the earlier method, by which every foundry used a different size of body. This radical change permitted the use of type of one foundry with that of any other, and meant as much to the printer as the change from local to national currency meant to the nation.

In stereotyping, a device known as the autoplate was invented in 1900, by means of which the time required for casting plates was considerably reduced, and in electrotyping the value and efficiency of the foundry were enormously increased by the use of a strong current of electricity to hasten the deposit of copper, so that the time required by the process may now be controlled by the electrotyper to suit his customer.

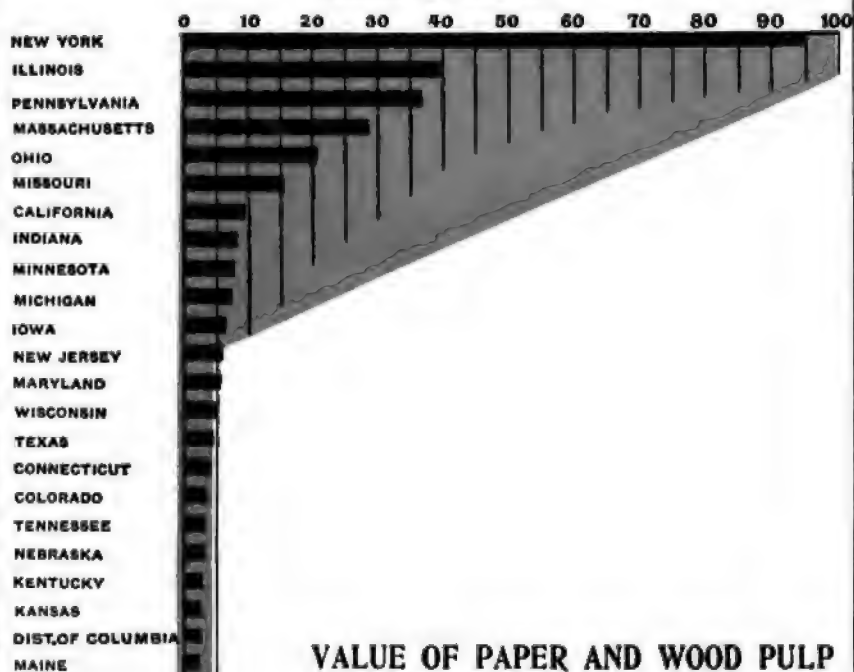
The greatest advances in press building since 1880 have been made in perfecting presses. These machines are now constructed of such enormous size and with such great capacity that it is possible to obtain, at short notice, a newspaper press which will produce 100,000 impressions per hour,





# VALUE OF PRINTING AND PUBLISHING (BOOK AND JOB, MUSIC AND NEWSPAPER)

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS



## VALUE OF PAPER AND WOOD PULP

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS







printed in 12 colors. The greatest advance in printing presses, however, was the construction of perfecting presses capable of reproducing the finest type and cut work as rapidly as though printing newspapers. Such machines, which were an impossibility in 1880, and an experiment in 1890, are now in general use, and are necessary to the production of the large number of inexpensive magazines and newspaper special supplements, profusely illustrated, which have become an important feature of the current literature.

The greatest advance in the direction of printing in colors from plates, by means of which the printer has invaded the business of the lithographer, created a demand which the press maker met with a machine capable of printing the three primary colors and producing several more by combination at one impression, so that a complete picture in many colors may be the product of one impression.

In the field of illustration the decade has witnessed advances second only to the invention and commercial success of composing machines. The art of steel engraving, carried to great perfection about the middle of the century, has become practically a lost art, and by 1900 wood engraving was neglected and unprofitable, being replaced by the line cut and the half tone.

These two classes of illustration are obtained by a combination of photography and etching. In producing the line cut the drawing is photographed and the negative is printed upon a zinc plate. The lines of the photograph are then protected and acid is permitted to eat away the exposed portions, producing a relief. The mechanical details of the half tone resemble to some extent those of the line cut, but the process is much more delicate, and the element of individual skill plays a more important part. The relief upon the plate is secured by small dots obtained by photographing the drawing through two glass plates which have been closely ruled. The negative is then printed upon a copper plate, which is subsequently etched.

The effect of the extraordinary activity in invention and improvement, sketched above as characteristic of this great industry since 1880, has been twofold: To the printer

himself it has been injurious rather than helpful; to the public it has been of incalculable advantage—a potent factor in elevating the standards of good taste.

It has already been pointed out that by the introduction of labor saving devices in this industry, the wage earner has doubtless benefited both in employment and in higher wages. As a matter of fact, the employing printer and not the wage earner suffered from new inventions in machinery. The type founder and the press maker secure protection from the ills of competition by consolidation, but no such relief is afforded to the printer. Indeed, from the nature of his calling, no effective combination could be organized. Extraordinary activity in mechanical invention and improvement, added to increasing competition, forced the printer to sacrifice to the interests of his business a large share of his narrow margin of profit. It is unlikely that there is any other industry in which there is so small a financial return for so much labor and uncertainty. Printers have seldom grown rich from their calling; their recompense has been generally in the character of their product. So far as wealth from his occupation is concerned, the printer of to-day, like his predecessor of centuries ago, lives entirely in the future.

Of far greater consequence, however, is the consideration of the quality of the product. There has been a remarkable advance since 1880; in artistic composition and in artistic results in all classes of printing. The styles of printing employed during the last two or three decades may be divided into three general periods. The first period was that in which a great number of type faces were employed in all display work and title pages, apparently with the idea that several kinds of shaded and display type were necessary for effective presentation. This style of composition was accompanied by elaborate ornamentation, such as rule work, scroll work, impossible cranes, birds, frogs, and conventional designs. Such work was not artistic in any sense, and could be regarded as interesting and commendable only from the standpoint of ingenuity.

The second period was marked by the imitation of alleged ancient designs and type faces. In the seventeenth century

printing was placed under very great restrictions in England. In consequence of this, a large number of small printing shops sprang up in obscure places, being generally known as holes. These shops often used second hand and worn out dresses of type, and, operating secretly, produced pamphlets and small books of a very poor grade. Where ornamentation or special letters were necessary, the printer himself cut them, generally in crude and barbarous fashion. Thus there was a distinct decline in the printing of that period, due to the product of this multitude of interdicted shops. Certain artists of the present day, coming across this class of work, endeavor to imitate what was really not subject for imitation, for it did not represent the best work of the period. Advertisers seized upon these oddities with avidity, and for a time there was a considerable movement toward such extreme results; but this fashion appears to be already on the wane. It obtained little foothold on the title pages or in the ornamentation of standard books.

The third period was one of better taste, the simplest types being used in the preparation of titles and display. At no period in the history of the industry has more beautiful work been reproduced in the combination of type and paper than during the last ten years. Indeed, in the progress of this industry paper is a factor which should not be overlooked.

In 1862 the kind of newspaper ordinarily used was made of cotton rags. It was imperfect, poor in color, and manufactured in the crudest manner. The price was 24 cents per pound. In 1900 stock of the same quality could not have been marketed for 2 cents per pound. The extensive use of wood pulp, and the great variety of qualities, weights, and surfaces made possible by increased skill and by improved paper-making machinery, are factors which must not be neglected in any careful survey of the advance of printing.

The volume of advertising circulars and pamphlet literature was never before so large or of such mechanical excellence as during the last decade. The educational effect upon the public at large of presenting in the most attractive and artistic form the most ordinary details concerning commercial wares, cannot be overestimated.

The underlying cause of this advance, however, is the fact that the untiring search for improvement has not been confined to the printing industry; other lines of commercial activity, scoring their triumphs, turned to the printer for exploitations by combinations of types, cuts, and paper so original and artistic as to compel attention and merit preservation. To this demand the printer was quick to respond. He became in many cases a designer, and firms were organized, with and without plants, to make a specialty of designing artistic combinations of types and material. This class of designing printers was practically a product of the last decade.

Leaping beyond the narrow limits of the modest and ugly circulars, leaflets, and handbills of two generations ago, the business community thus educated itself, through the activity of the period, to demand, for advertising purposes, the most beautiful products of the press.

In the realm of bookmaking no striking changes were recorded, but the advance in good taste and artistic beauty of product was a marked characteristic of this branch of the industry. Fashions in bindings changed annually, but a widening range of materials and patterns, more daring use of designs and inks, and the invention and general use of automatic binding machinery supplemented improvements in printing, permitting lower prices for books and promoting phenomenal sales. It is a significant coincidence that the decade which witnessed extraordinary advance in all details of mechanical production in this industry should be characterized also by the most noteworthy advance in the good taste and appreciation of the general public.

## AMERICAN ADVERTISING.

BY A. L. THOMAS.

[Ambrose L. Thomas, president Lord & Thomas advertising agency; born Thomaston, Me., January 10, 1851; educated in the public schools of Boston, Mass.; began business career as a boy in the office of the Boston Traveler; he then engaged with an advertising agency in Boston with which he remained ten years; in 1881 with Mr. Lord started the advertising firm of Lord & Thomas, in Chicago, which has become the largest concern of the kind in the world.]

Any notice, verbal, written or printed, intended to convey information to the public, is an advertisement. The literal interpretation, from the French *advertissement* or the Latin *ad verito*, is to turn (the mind or attention) toward; to make known; to give notice. By popular use the word usually means a paid notice or an announcement in a printed publication, or posted for public view; although a circular, privately published and publicly distributed, for the purpose of making a business, legal, or other announcement, is an advertisement. Social announcements, as of weddings, are advertisements; but advertising for the purpose of promoting business is the popular meaning of the word and has, in itself, become an important and profitable enterprise. Advertising is the term applied to the act of promoting business by public announcement, and the extent to which this has been carried, as the result of successful efforts, has created the advertising business, with its advertising managers, solicitors, writers, experts and agents. The man or company whose business is promoted by advertising is termed an advertiser. Publications in which advertisements appear are called advertising mediums, or media. Paid advertising did not exist, so far as is known, until the sixteenth century, having originated, probably, in Germany. In less than three centuries it has come to be a business of such importance as to be classed among the great industries of the world, and has surpassed many, as old as civilization. This youngest of great enterprises has attained its highest development in the youngest of great nations—the United States of America. A very conservative estimate

places the amount expended for advertising in the United States during 1904 at \$600,000,000. Necessities and luxuries of life to the amount of over one hundred and fifty millions of dollars are usually purchased through advertisements in the Chicago daily papers, alone. It is impossible to estimate the number of advertisements issued in a year in American publications, but they would be numbered in the billions.

To know the superiority of American over European advertising, as to quality of illustration, taste and impressiveness in display and convincing force in argument, one has but to open, side by side, magazines published, respectively, in the different countries. In spite of the older civilization enjoyed by European nations, America has outstripped them all in the quality of work which can be produced in a very limited time, and in nearly all work which is the result of mechanical processes. Some European art has never been excelled or equalled by Americans; but in all essential phases and processes of advertising, America has so far outstripped every other country as to make comparison almost impossible, except to show foreign advertising and methods to be very crude in comparison with American.

That other nations recognize the superiority of United States methods of advertising is evidenced by the investigations of American advertising methods by foreign countries, several consuls having been instructed to study the subject and make full reports. Vice-Consul Thomas Erksine, of the British consulate in Chicago, recently reported impressively to his government that American methods must be studied and adopted if Great Britain was to hold its own trade, particularly in its colonies, where American competition bids fair to become keen. The Spanish consul has also made full report on American advertising methods, saying that there is as much advertising done in Chicago, alone, as in an average European country. Governments of Europe have discovered the value of scientific advertising in business and are endeavoring to awaken the people to the adoption of American methods. Marked improvement is noted in English methods during the past two years in particular.

Advertising, in the literal sense of the word, dates from God's first proclamation to Adam, "Behold, I have given you," and it has been done by kings to their subjects, generals to their armies, lords to their vassals and vendors to their trade, since creation. Advertising by word of mouth, by cries and heralds, is recognized as the earliest method of proclamation. Next came the parchments of Israel, giving the utterances of kings. Early Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans inscribed signs which told of battle victories. Signs over shops and trading stalls seem to have been the first advertisements in the nature of business promotion. Street advertising by sign was done in Rome and the practice of a distinguishing sign grew until, in the middle ages, each place of business had its emblem. Houses in similar lines of business were often grouped in the same street, hence the need of a different sign for each shop, as a hand over the door of every glover, for instance, was little aid to a patron seeking his favorite shop. With the demand for distinguishing signs came the sign painter, whose announcements upon walls were seen long before the printing press existed. In fact, the bill board may be said to be a relic of those publicity methods necessitated by the absence of other mediums until the invention of the printing press and the discovery that it could be utilized to the mutual advantage of advertiser and reader, for placing the business announcement in the hands of the latter, attractively and explicitly. It is therefore difficult to separate the history of advertising from that of the press, for advertising and printing have aided and promoted each other.

The first newspaper was, supposedly, the English *Mercurie*, published in Elizabeth's time and bearing the date of 1583. The oldest known newspaper paragraph approaching an advertisement appeared in 1591, in an old German news book. The paragraph relates to a book and concludes: "Magister Cunan has published it and Matthew Welback has printed it, in Wittemberg. Let whoever does not know the meaning of this (portent) buy the book at once and read it with all possible zeal."

There is good reason to think the French have the honor of first finding the way to newspaper advertising as a profitable



business. The Journal Général d' Affiches, better known as the Petites Affiches, was first published, 14th October, 1612. Judging from its title it would appear to have been, as it still was in 1890, an advertising medium, for announcing public or private sales of property or for making known any domestic or personal events, including advertisements for servants and helpers, and for positions by those in search of employment. Hence the want ad. is as old as advertising.

In England, the following advertisement appeared in the form here given, in the January number of the Mercurius Politicus, 1652:


**I**REDONIA GRATULATORIA, an Heroick Poem; being a congratulatory panegyrick for my Lord General's late return, summing up his success in an exquisite manner. To be sold by John Holden, in the New Exchange, London. Printed by Tho. Newcourt, 1652.

Notices for thieves and runaway apprentices soon became common, but these and advertisements of books and some quack medicines were the only important advertisements until, in the issue of Sept. 30, 1658, appeared the following first advertisement of a food product, also the first authentic notice of the fact that tea was publicly sold in England:

**T**HAT Excellent and by all Physitians approved *China Drink* called by the *Chineans Tcha*, by other Nations *Tay alias Tee*, is sold at the *Sultaness Head Coffee-House*, in *Sweetings Rents*, by the Royal Exchange, London.

Numerous advertisements in this Mercurius Politicus bring us face to face with one of England's brightest poets, John Milton, the advertisements of whose books were modestly signed J. M.

Up to this time italics are the only display noticed; but on the 28th of June, 1660, in the Mercurius Publicus, appears the pointing hand in an advertisement, proclaiming the loss of a dog from the kennels of King Charles. On the following day appeared the similar display with text said to have been by King Charles himself:

 We must call upon you again for a Black Dog, between a Grey hund and a Spaniel, no white about him, onely a streak on his Brest, and Tayl a little bobbed. It is His Majestie's own Dog, and doubtless was stoln, for the Dog was not born nor bred in England, and would never forsake his master. Whosoever finds him may acquaint any at Whitehal, for the dog was better known at Court than those who stole him. Will they never leave robbing His Majesty? must he not keep a Dog? This Dog's place (though better than some imagine) is the only place which nobody offers to beg.

It was nearly two hundred years after this before advertising and the press came to their own, owing to the heavy

English tax upon advertisements. This made advertising too costly to be popular with many advertisers and kept the publisher's net revenue very small. Even until 1833, no less than 3s. 6d. must be paid to the government for each advertisement, regardless of length.


In 1668, Roger L'Estrange commenced the *Mercury*, or *Advertisements Concerning Trade*, which soon became extinct, to be followed by the *City Mercury*, distributed gratuitously. This was really a syndicate of circular advertisements, it being argued that this bringing together of advertisements was more impressive and more interesting than promiscuous throwing around of circulars—so here was acknowledgment that advertising by circular distribution had come into existence. That the publisher of this paper undertook to distribute "above a thousand copies" per week, in London and principal towns of England, also shows that the trade had begun to appreciate the advantages of publicity.

In 1700, advertising had become general, and in 1710, Addison mentions advertisements of his time "printed with little cuts and figures." Here is the first mention of pictorial advertising in papers.

The first catalogue was probably issued in 1769, when Jonathan Holder is mentioned as being so extravagant as to print the whole list of articles kept by him, with prices affixed, one of these slips being handed to each purchaser.

The *London Times* was started in 1788, but even up to this time no effort had been made to systematize advertising methods, although this paper effectively demonstrated the practical value of advertising to the public and its economic value to the publisher.

In America, meanwhile, the advertisement had made its appearance. With the growth of shipping interests, American newspapers increased in numbers, and a few advertisements were usually found in each, although *The Boston Newsletter*, the first of American newspapers and established in 1704, often contained none. *The Independent Gazette*, started in 1787, was the first New York daily. In 1788 an issue of this paper contained 34 advertisements.



From this time on the progress of advertising may be followed best through its development in America. In spite of England's constraining tax she was easily the leader among European nations, in advertising, largely because competition among dealers soon developed a large advertising business in London, where it was realized that who advertised most liberally did most business.

In illustrating the growth of American advertising as compared with that of foreign nations, England, having always led all nations except America, will be used as the foreign example. England had the advantage of population and long established business, domestic and foreign, with well developed resources; but the English conservatism was always a hindrance to the great growth of advertising, particularly as the English resented seeing paid announcements in periodicals, for which they were paying subscriptions. Moreover, the heavy tax was a serious impediment although, in spite of that, the number of advertisements which appeared in England in 1832 was no less than 921,943, the duty paid during that year being \$863,000. In 1833 this duty was reduced and in 1853 it was abolished, from which time both advertising and journalism greatly increased in England. Nevertheless, it was for America to demonstrate that advertising is a legitimate and profitable business.

In order to illustrate how rapidly America leaped ahead of foreign countries, in advertising, the following comparisons are made: In 1901 there were 2,559 newspapers (daily and weekly) in Great Britain; 1,920 monthly magazines and other monthly and weekly periodicals; and 968 publications issued quarterly, annually, etc., or a total of 5,447 publications. The largest and most recent estimate places the number at 6,500. This is for England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Of these, about 1,590 are class publications, that is, devoted to some special cause, trade, society or religion. In the United States, in 1905, there are 2,307 daily newspapers; over 16,000 weekly and semi-weeklies; over 3,000 monthlies and semi-monthlies; and 209 quarterlies; a total of 22,074 publications, not including the Philippines. The number of class papers in the United States in 1905, is over 6,000.

The United States has papers printed in 29 foreign languages, there being almost none of the latter in England. In 1841 there were no dailies outside of London. In 1901 there were 194. In the same year (1901) the United States had 2,132 dailies outside of its largest metropolis; New England had 170; Illinois, alone, had 187, besides 1,440 in Illinois not issued daily. In 1901 there were, also, 489 publications (not daily) in Chicago. The latter city, in that year, had 39 dailies, New York 57 and Boston 11. The number of publications is given by way of showing the growth of advertising because it has been conceded that advertising has made these publications possible and their appearance and growth is a reliable index.

Extensive advertising by corporate companies is purely an American innovation. In Europe, when at all, this had been only by a card, simply stating the name of the corporation, the address, the business done and, possibly, the amount of capitalization. It had been deemed beneath the dignity of a corporation to advertise otherwise. In America corporation advertising is imposing. Railways were among the first to adopt modern methods. As early as 1875 the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific had expended between \$400,000 and \$500,000 in two years. Insurance companies, banks, brokers, shippers and other corporations are now among the country's liberal advertisers, though railroads are, perhaps, the most liberal users of space, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Rock Island and other roads frequently using full pages in the daily papers, also utilizing the modern two color service, in display.

Advertising, tax free in the United States, enabled nearly every town to have its newspaper, and the number of mediums and increasing number of advertisers who saw, in the newspapers, opportunity to reach people and create business beyond the borders of their own locality, created the necessity for agencies. These also exist in England and continental Europe, but have not been conducted as systematically, nor have they been as successful in their study of advertising as have the American agencies. The latter have done much to formulate, out of desultory attempts, well systematized

methods and principles, which have reduced advertising to a science, have elevated the business to a high plane and have made possible the great campaigns conducted in America. There have been some large campaigns by English advertisers, several having been known to spend as much as \$250,000 in a year, for advertising; but where there is one such appropriation in England, there are five, possibly ten, in America, with hundreds of advertisers spending from \$10,000 to \$50,000 a year.


The necessity for the agency grew out of the advertiser's perplexity in knowing the best papers to use in order to reach certain localities. Difficulty was experienced in learning the names of the papers published in different parts of the country. Rates, too, varied according to the publishers' own ideas regarding the importance and value of their respective papers. Sometimes these were so low as to be unjust to the publisher, sometimes they were exorbitant.

The first agency was established in 1828. The next, in 1840, had offices in Boston, Philadelphia and New York, and was established by one V. B. Palmer. In 1873 the largest New York agency employed 40 men. In 1905 there are some 500 agencies in the United States, with about 25 of them reliable and responsible. The largest of these employ from 100 to 200 persons. The fact that business of intricate detail and representing, in the few largest agencies, business amounting to from \$1,000,000 to \$40,000,000 a year, can be handled by a force so comparatively small, is due to systematic organization. One agency, employing nearly 200 persons, has 700 clients. A number of the latter spend \$250,000 a year in advertising. This agency places over 420,000 advertisements in a year, these averaging about 70 lines each, making an average of 29,400,000 agate lines of advertising, placed through one Chicago agency.

The duties of a completely organized agency are the planning of advertising campaigns, the selection of papers and magazines most likely to produce results for the article advertised, the preparation of copy which will best appeal to the class of people solicited, the forwarding of copy or printing plates at proper season for insertion, the checking of all

insertions, as to space, time, position, etc., and the billing for same, to the advertiser and remittance, for the advertiser, to the publisher. Such service saves the advertiser vast trouble, correspondence and expense, and is obviously an advantage to the publisher, who allows a commission of 15 per cent to recognized agents, for complete service of this kind. This is the agency's customary remuneration, the advertiser paying only the scheduled rate for the space. Some agencies permit the advertiser to furnish copy, allowing the advertiser 5 per cent from the publishers' price, in lieu of copy service; but the results from advertising thus prepared are more or less uncertain. Other so-called agencies are employed by a number of advertisers and are paid a small commission or salary to supervise the placing of copy.

The large expenditures for advertising and the necessary entrusting of these appropriations to persons who shall, so far as possible, be responsible for wise and discreet use of these funds, has created the demand for advertising managers, who shall be appointed by advertisers to look after their interests. In many cases each company has its own advertising manager who, either independently or in co-operation with an agency, plans the company's advertising, superintends the placing of it, personally supervises the preparation of catalogues and literature needed to adequately describe the business or commodity advertised. It is also the business of this advertising manager to so co-operate with other departments that the latter are prepared to cope with additional business which results from advertising done, and experience has demonstrated that the advertising manager can most effectively accomplish this very essential part of his duty, when acting in the capacity of sales manager as well. Advertising is the promotion of sales and a most logical solution of the problem is that the sales manager supervise the departments of sales and advertising, aided by competent assistants who shall direct details. The advertising for large national advertisers and for large retail houses affords occupation for from 2 to 100 people. The manager of advertising for large corporations, manufacturing and commercial houses, must be a man of unusual ability and high integrity. Indeed,



advertising has attracted many of the brightest university graduates, while men have given up profitable lines of business to enter the advertising field, realizing that it offered unlimited opportunities to men of talent, for engaging in a thoroughly straightforward, enjoyable and profitable business, often very intense, yet always interesting and, with system, affording opportunity for recreation and self improvement. Incomes of advertisement writers, advertising managers and solicitors vary from \$1,000 to \$25,000 per year. Effort has been made constantly to eliminate the element of fraud, and advertising as a business is considered one of the most attractive and profitable of commercial pursuits.

In addition to the agent and the advertising manager, the various publications require representatives, some having many, located in different towns. There are also special agencies, representing the publishers of a number of papers or magazines. These representatives of publications solicit or receive advertising from regular advertising agencies and from advertisers.

Special mention should be made of the development of magazines and class publications, including mail order journals. There were few so called magazines before the civil war and they carried no advertising until, in February, 1860, an advertisement appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. The first one carried by Harper's Magazine appeared in July, 1864. Magazines are now numbered by hundreds, and nearly all carry advertising. Harper's in 1883 carried five or six pages, per month; while in Harper's for September, 1905, there were 126 pages of advertising, with 170 pages of reading matter. Holiday editions of the monthly magazines sometimes carry more advertising than reading matter.

The mail order business is conducted by advertising in newspapers and magazines, as well as in papers intended especially to reach people in outlying districts. These papers are known as mail order journals and are used by merchants and manufacturers in large cities, for advertising to farmers and people in small towns. Some of these mail order journals have attained remarkable circulation, numbering from 500,000 to 1,500,000. Their subscribers are glad of the opportunity


to purchase goods not obtainable at the small home stores and even staple goods are often purchased by mail from city mail order houses, from which catalogues are sent, listing and illustrating thousands of articles which may be ordered and paid for by mail. In the great farming districts of the central west, where prosperous farmers are unable to make frequent trips to the large cities, the mail order business has grown rapidly, with Chicago as the chief distributing center. Several large houses in the latter city are devoted entirely to this business. Mail order journals, magazines, weeklies (secular and religious) daily and local newspapers, are used by mail order houses and manufacturers, for soliciting direct orders, also, particularly by manufacturers, for creating demand for their special makes of goods, from local dealers acting as their distributors. Everything which the public uses can be advertised. The rural postal delivery, improved facilities in railroad and express service, the telephone and other inventions, have all aided in bringing maker and consumer into closer communication. Agricultural journals, too, a very interesting class of publications, have done much to keep the people in remote rural districts in touch with the world's progress. All media have been utilized by the advertiser. In fact, advertising and purchasing through advertisements have become so universal, that the most important question of the present is one of selection. To whom, by what means, with what space, and through what media, shall one advertise? These are questions which only an expert can answer with an approach to correctness. The advertising expert, therefore, has also become a necessity. The advertising agency is usually regarded as the safest source of counsel at such a time. There are several directories describing publications, their circulation, locality and nature, often indicating, also, the character of their readers, and there are no less than 26 journals devoted to the subject of advertising, all giving advice in regard to methods; but actual experience is the only safe guide in planning an advertising campaign. If the appropriation be large, the advertiser's risk is great; if small, sound advice is quite as much needed. Some of the greatest advertisers began by investing



a few dollars in advertising. One of the most important reasons for consulting an agency is, that the agency is constantly advised of changes in rates, circulation, conditions and data not to be found in directories, while the agency, from practical experience with clients, is able to know the real value to the advertiser of various mediums and to know which are best for producing results along desired lines. It is a well known fact that some publications produce much better results for certain advertisers than others will do. Even among newspapers, which are supposed to reach all the people, distinctions should be made in advertising commodities of different character. Only the agency, from its experience, can know these conditions. Some agencies have carefully recorded and classified their experiences and are able to closely estimate which papers will produce good results for given advertisers. As advertising has become more scientific, advertisers look more and more for definite results in their advertising, results which can be calculated and by which the advertiser is able to know exactly how his advertising pays, just as he knows, or should know, the value of any department in his business. Agencies and publishers have co-operated with the advertiser to make this possible, the publishers of reputable papers realizing that their interests are advanced by demonstration to the advertiser that their papers actually increased orders; while the reputable agency demanded, in behalf of the advertiser, that the publication used should show results. Plans for demonstrating which papers produce orders have been devised, and the material increase in business, in a town where newspaper advertising is done, is conclusive proof that results are obtained. The agency has further protected the interests of its clients by co-operating with the more reliable publishers in the establishment of fair advertising rates. These are now fixed in proportion to the circulation, the charge being made at a given rate per agate line per thousand of circulation, an agate line being one fourteenth of an inch.

The mail order business, the success of which depends entirely upon the fairness of the rate and the number of replies received from each insertion, has created the demand for

direct results, the desirability of which have also become evident to the general advertiser, who formerly flattered himself that, if his name and the name of what he sold were displayed in large type, with possibly a picture more or less relevant, he was advertising. Now, the majority of advertisers realize that the advertising which produces results is that which, first of all, so describes and illustrates that, when the reader has become convinced that he or she wants the goods thus described, no other could be substituted. The resistance of substitution (offering something else said to be just as good) has been one of the most serious problems confronting the advertiser. A man might spend thousands of dollars to popularize a name, trade mark, or commodity, yet this expenditure might be entirely squandered unless the advertising has been such that, when the purchaser inquires, he knows exactly what goods he wants and why he wants them, having been shown by logical argument and graphic illustration the reasons why the article advertised is the only one that will suit his purpose. With right copy, this can be accomplished almost invariably. Experience has also proven that, by thus individualizing an article, with the use of right copy, good results may be obtained for articles never before successfully advertised and from media which had not previously shown an increase in orders, thus conclusively demonstrating that the importance of rightly prepared copy can not be overestimated. The conditions must be considered in the preparation of copy, including the size of space to be used and the styles of display. Advice from the expert is especially valuable in the matter of space, and for this reason the most reliable expert is obviously the one to be consulted. From the consumer's point of view, the educational campaigns of recent years and the development of business by mail, have combined to suggest the advertised article and to prompt a search among advertisements for information about articles desired; but the purchaser is more experienced and less credulous than formerly and, therefore, the advertisement which gives definite reasons for claims made and which makes plain the exclusive points of superiority in the article advertised, is usually the one influencing the order placed. Some



journals have recently inaugurated a campaign against certain advertised articles, including proprietary medicines. In this connection it is interesting to note that proprietary medicines were the first articles ever advertised extensively; in fact, they pointed the way to other advertisers. While it is true that many unworthy articles (including medicines) have been and are advertised, reputable publishers do not accept advertisements of harmful or fraudulent nature, and reputable agencies protect their clients, by using the better class of publications, and by furnishing copy that shall elicit and merit the confidence of the public.

It must be obvious that one of the most important considerations for the advertiser is the preparation of the copy by which he expects to sell his goods. Persons who can prepare copy that gives reasons and gives them so conclusively that local dealers cannot counteract those reasons by persuading the purchaser to accept a substitute even at a lower price, are very rare. They must be men who not only understand human nature, but they must thoroughly understand the principles of good salesmanship. A successful advertisement is a salesman with argument so complete and so convincing that it instantly answers any counter inquiry which may arise in the mind of the reader and presents conclusive assurance.

Educational advertising has not only turned the American tide of opinion relative to domestic as compared with foreign goods, but has created such a demand for American goods, in foreign markets, that courts of Europe, not having manufacturing facilities, have sent special emissaries to this country for the purpose of negotiating with American manufacturers, encouraging them to export and giving them all possible information as to the best methods of marketing their products in the countries thus represented. The systematizing of advertising methods and the wide experience of American advertisers gives the American every advantage in foreign markets. American manufacturers seeking foreign trade usually send a representative to study merchandizing customs and other conditions, although a reputable agency can be relied upon to furnish reliable information regarding any

foreign market, the probable demand for any class of goods, and best methods of introducing and marketing a commodity.

The greatest achievement of modern advertising, however, is the almost complete changing of public opinion in America, relative to goods of American manufacture. Through logical advertising many manufacturers have succeeded in so explaining the superiority of American materials and particularly American methods of manufacture, that the public, once prejudiced in favor of foreign makes, now not only prefer, but demand American products.

## THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

BY HUGO MUNSTERBERG.

[Hugo Munsterberg, professor of psychology at Harvard; born June 1, 1863, at Danzig, Germany; he was graduated from the Danzig gymnasium in 1882, and took postgraduate studies at Leipzig and Heidelberg for the next five years in philosophy, the natural sciences and medicine; he then became instructor in the University of Freiburg, Germany, and four years later, in 1891, was appointed assistant professor in the same university; in 1892 he became professor of psychology in Harvard university; he was a vice-president of the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at the Louisiana Purchase exposition; he has written a number of books, including *Psychology and Life*, *Grundzüge der Psychologie*, *American Traits*, *The Americans*, and other works in German, besides contributions to magazines, and educational and psychological journals.] Copyright 1901 by Frederick A. Richardson

Not long ago, I had an enjoyable call from a young German whose purpose in crossing the ocean was to catch a glimpse of American life. Very naturally we talked, as fellow countrymen do, of the impressions which the new world makes upon the foreigner who has just reached its shores. I asked him whether he kept a diary. He declared that he did not have time for that; but he showed me a little pocket registry in which he was accustomed, as a man of business, to enter his debits, credits, and doubtful accounts. Further on in it, he had instituted a similar reckoning with America. He explained that this was the briefest way of grouping his impressions. I have forgotten the most of these, since the record was one of considerable length; but of the credits I remember distinctly such items as the parlor cars, oysters, waterfalls, shoes, autumn leaves, libraries, after dinner speeches, the city of Boston, the ice cream, the hospitality, the *Atlantic Monthly*, etc. Then came the doubtful accounts: the newspapers, mince pies, millionaires, sleeping cars, furnaces, negroes, receptions, poets, the city of New York, etc., etc. And finally came the debits: monuments, politicians, boarding houses, the spring weather, servants, street cleaning, committee meetings, pavements, sauces, and at least three pages more. But what impressed me most of all—and by reason of which the little book comes to my mind at this moment—was a simple family

division that I found there; under the debits the children, under the doubtful accounts the men, and under the credits the women.

It gave in so simple a formula what all of us had felt during our first months in the new world. We were all amazed at the pert and disrespectful children, and we were all fascinated by the American women. Now and then arose in our souls, perhaps, a slight suspicion as to whether these two things can really go together; it seems so much more natural to expect that a perfect woman will provide also for a perfect education of her children; but whenever we met this woman herself, whenever we saw her and heard her, all skepticism faded away; she was the perfection of Eve's sex. And one group always attracts our attention the most keenly—the college bred woman. There are beautiful and brilliant and clever and energetic women the world over, but the college girl is a new type to us, and, next to the twenty four story buildings, nothing excites our curiosity more than the women who have studied. Some, to be sure, mingle with their curiosity certain objections on principle. They remember that the woman has some grains less of brain substance than the man, and that every woman who has learned Greek is considered a grotesque bluestocking. But even he who is most violently prejudiced is first reconciled, and then becomes enthusiastic. He wanders in vain through the colleges to find the repulsive creature he expected, and the funny picture of the German comic papers changes slowly into an enchanting type by Gibson. And when he has made good use of his letters of introduction, and has met these new creations at closer range, has chatted with them before cosy open fires, has danced and bicycled and golfed with them, has seen their clubs and meetings and charities—he finds himself discouragingly word poor when he endeavors to describe, with his imperfect English, the impression that has been made upon him; he feels that his vocabulary is not sufficiently provided with complimentary epithets. The American woman is clever and ingenious and witty; she is brilliant and lively and strong; she is charming and beautiful and noble; she is generous and amiable and resolute; she

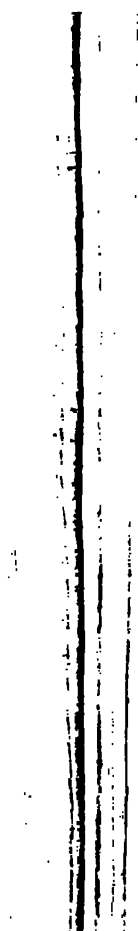
is energetic and practical, and yet idealistic and enthusiastic; indeed, what is she not?

And when we are in our own country once more, we of course play the reformer, and join heartily the ranks of those who fight for the rights of women and for their higher education. I have myself stood in that line. Some years ago, at the moment of my first visit to America, the problem of women and the universities was much discussed in Germany, and about one hundred university professors were asked for their opinions, which were published in a volume entitled *The Academic Woman*. And when I sat down to furnish my own contribution to this subject, there appeared before my grateful imagination the lovely pictures of the college yards which I had seen from New England to California; I saw once more the sedate library halls where the fair girls in light colored gowns radiated joy and happiness; I saw before me the Ivy procession of the Smith college students; I saw again the most charming theatrical performance I have ever enjoyed, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, given by Wellesley students on a spring day in the woods by the lake; I saw once more the eager students in cap and gown in front of Pembroke Hall, at Bryn Mawr, and I saw once more the Radcliffe Philosophy club where we prolonged our discussions through so many delightful evenings. A German Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, I exclaimed, a German Smith and Vassar, that is the pressing need of our Fatherland! My enthusiastic article was reprinted and quoted in the discussions, up and down the land; thus I found myself suddenly marching in line with the friends of woman's emancipation; and I was proud that I—the first one in my German university to do so—had admitted women as regular students into my laboratory, years before I came to America.

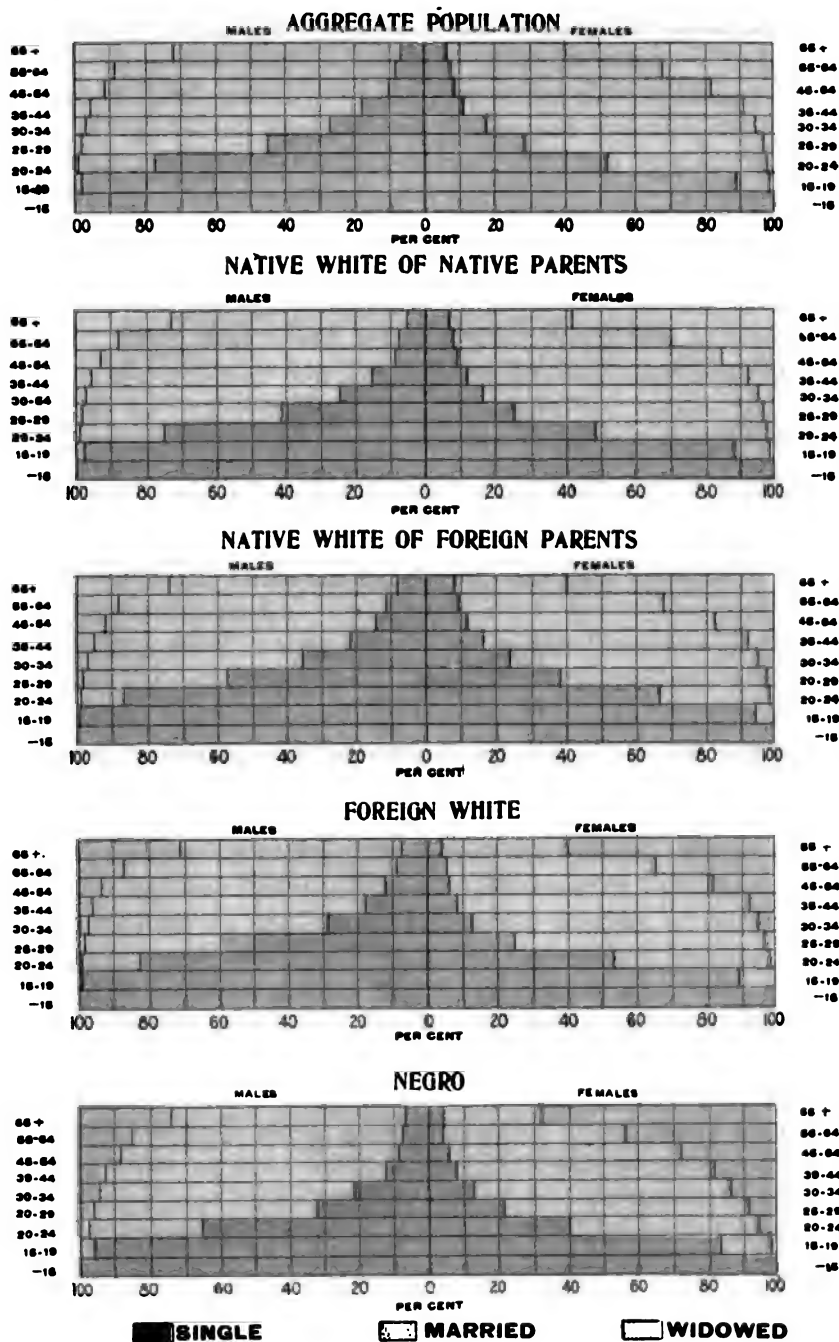
All that was long ago. I do not now see American life with the eyes of a newcomer. That does not mean that I to-day admire American women less than before, nor does it mean that I falter in my hopes that Germany will absorb American ideas in the realm of higher education for girls. All these feelings remain the same, and yet, since the surface view of the tourist has been replaced by insight into the deeper







# CONJUGAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX, IN PROPORTIONS OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EACH AGE GROUP






mechanism, my creed has changed. I believe to-day that it is no less important for America to be influenced by the German ideals of a woman's life than for Germany to learn from America. Of course when I speak of German ideals, I do not mean that witless parody which decorates the speeches of woman suffragists. I mean the real German woman, who is to Americans who have a chance to come into full contact with German life mostly something of a surprise. They expected a slave or a doll, a narrow minded creature without intelligence and interests, and now their experience is like that of a lady from Boston—if I may be allowed to make use of her home letter—who finds that every woman with whom she becomes acquainted in Germany has her serious special interests; that they are all quite other than she had imagined them. And what is much to the point, the Germany of to-day is not that of twenty years ago. The immense industrial development of the whole country, which has brought wealth and strength and fullness of life into the whole organism, and which has raised the standard of social existence, has left no sphere of German life untouched.

The efforts of this new Germany in the interests of the woman have taken four different forms, four tendencies, which naturally hang together, but externally are sometimes even antagonistic. The first movement, which applies to the largest number of individuals, is that which tends to soften the hardships of the female wage earner, especially among the laborers. The second seeks to raise the character of the general education of girls in the higher classes. The third endeavors to open new sources of income to the better educated woman of narrow circumstances, and the fourth has as its aim the clearing of the way for women of special talent, that they may live out their genius for the good of humanity. I have said that these impulses move partly in opposite directions; to widen the horizon of the women of the higher classes and to prepare them for professional work means to draw them away from the hearth, while all the efforts in behalf of the women in the mills and shops tend to bring them again to the hearth of the home. The one group gave too much time to the mere household, in its narrowest sense; the other group had too little time

for this. The progress in all four directions is almost a rapid one; the legislation in the interest, and for the protection, of working women is a model for the world; and—to point to the top of the pyramid—the conservative universities have opened wide their doors.

These four tendencies, which ought to remain clearly separated in every discussion, as the usual mixing of them brings confusion, have nevertheless a single background of principles. One of these, which sounds of course utterly commonplace, is that it must remain the central function of the woman to be wife and mother; and the other is that public life and culture, including politics, public morality, science, art, higher education, industry, commerce, law, literature, the newspaper, and the church, are produced, formed, and stamped by men. I do not mean that every woman, or even every man who works for woman's rights in Germany to-day is ready to acknowledge these two principles. The social democratic party, whose spokesman, Bebel, has written a most striking book on the woman, would reject these principles decidedly; and whoever plunges into the literature of the more radical wing must hear at once that free love is the only decent rule, and that every blunder in civilization has come from the old fashioned notion that men may meddle with public affairs instead of trusting them to the judgment of women. But all these declamations have accomplished nothing; they have not removed a single pebble from the path of the woman. Every tendency that strikes against those two fundamental principles of German conviction has been paralyzed by the spirit of the country. It may be said, without exaggeration, that all the efforts towards the solution of the woman question in Germany strengthen and re-enforce the family idea. The only exceptions to this are the liberal provisions for the highest development of women of unusual talent; but genius must always be treated as an exception, and such exceptions have existed at all times. The few who take the doctor's degree, and who feel the mission for productive work in scholarship can thus be set aside in the discussion, while the situation as a whole suggests most clearly the irregularity of such a vocation, and does not push the average woman into such a path.

The three remaining movements alone have a typical value. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that all that tends to uplift the lot of the working woman protects first the home as a whole in protecting the individual girl or wife or mother. The central endeavor is to give her time for the household cares, and for her functions as a member of the family. The higher education, on the other hand, in so far as it does not aim at the exceptional achievements of the highest scholarship, is almost wholly in Germany of a character to make the young women better fitted for marriage. That the average girl attains to the fulfilment of her hopes only in marriage, is a practical dogma which finds in the wide masses there no doubters, and that, in the better classes, the education of the woman was for a long time so much inferior to that of the man that it seriously interfered with a deeper intellectual comradeship in married life, also cannot be denied. The successful efforts to raise the standard of female education, and to bring it nearer to the level of that of young men has thus the tendency to give new attractiveness to the family life, and to make the girl more marriageable. In the atmosphere of the present German social views—others may call them prejudices—these efforts do not contain the least factor that operates against the crystallization of households. The more the horizon of the man widens with the new wealth and expansion of the modern Germany, the more this enables the girl, in the struggle for married existence, to bring into the home a richer intellectual life, for which the need was less felt in the more idyllic and provincial German homes of the past generation. Finally, the increased opportunities for German women to earn their own living make not at all in the Fatherland against the establishment of the home. These opportunities lift, indeed, from many homes the burdens of misery, and make many empty and wasted lives useful; but, under the existing conditions of public opinion, there is no fear that they will ever have any chances as substitutes for marriage. They remain, for the large masses, necessarily the second best choice; a question, on the whole, merely for those who have had no chance to marry, or who are afraid that they will not marry, or who hope that it will somehow help them to marry. In Ger-



many, where the female sex outnumbers the male in such a high degree, and where, besides, about ten per cent of the men prefer to stay in their bachelor quarters, a million women have to seek other spheres than those of the wife; but no average German girl desires to be one of that million, even did the new opportunities that are constantly opening up offer a little better salary than is the case to-day. And, finally, does anyone who has obtained even a glimpse of German civilization need any further proof that the whole public culture there is stamped by man's mind? No reasonable German considers the function of woman in the social organism less important or less noble than that of man, but the public questions he wishes to have settled by men. Man sets the standard in every public discussion, for politics and civil life, for science and scholarship, for education and religion, for law and medicine, for commerce and industry, and even for art and literature. Women are faithful helpers there in some lines; they assist and disseminate, and in art and literature their work may reach the highest level; but the landmarks for every development are set by men, and all this will outlast even the most energetic movements for the higher education of woman, unless the whole structure of German ideals becomes disorganized.

In both respects, in relation to the home and in relation to the standards of public culture, the movements in the interest of women have in America exactly the opposite tendency from those in Germany; even the same facts have, under the different social conditions, an absolutely different meaning; the whole situation here militates against the home and against the masculine control of higher culture, and seems to me, therefore, antagonistic to the health of the nation. I shall consider first the influence on the home. I am not so unfair as to deduce my conclusions from the radical speeches of ill balanced reformers, or from the experimental extravagancies of social iconoclasts; I do not speak of those who want to see the children brought up in government institutions from the first days of life, or of those who consider marriage as the only surviving slavery. No; I do not think of dreams and revolutions; I have the actual, present situation in mind, the facts

as they are welcomed by the conservative population. And yet, with this alone in mind, I feel convinced that serious forces are at work to undermine the home, and to antagonize the formation of families.

Of course I will not warm up the old fashioned argument, which is repeated so often in Europe, that the higher learning makes a girl awkward and ill mannered, and that the man will never be drawn to such a bluestocking; I take for granted that no American girl loses in attractiveness by passing through a college, or through other forms of the higher and the highest education. But we have only to look at the case from the other side, and we shall find ourselves at once at the true source of the calamity. The woman has not become less attractive as regards marriage; but has not marriage become less attractive to the woman? and long before the Freshman year did not the outer influences begin to impel in that direction? does it not begin in every country school where the girls sit on the same bench with the boys, and discover, a long, long time too early, how stupid those boys are? Co-education, on the whole unknown in Germany, has many desirable features; it strengthens the girls; it refines the boys; it creates a comradeship between the two sexes which decreases sexual tension in the years of development; but these factors make, at the same time, for an indifference toward the other sex, toward a disillusionism, which must show in the end. The average German girl thinks, I am sorry to say, that she will marry anyone who will not make her unhappy; the ideal German girl thinks that she will marry only the man who will certainly make her happy; the ideal American girl thinks that she can marry only the man without whom she will be unhappy; and the average American girl approaches this standpoint with an alarming rapidity. Now is not the last a much more ideal point of view? does it not indicate a much nobler type of woman—the one who will have no marriage but the most ideal one, as compared with the other, who in a romantic desire for marriage takes the first man who asks her? But in this connection, I do not wish to approve or to criticise; we may postpone that until we have gathered a few more facts and motives. Co-education is only one; a whole corona of motives surrounds it.



Co-education means only equality; but the so-called higher education for girls means, under the conditions of the American life of to-day, decidedly not the equality, but the superiority of women. In Germany, even the best educated woman—with the exception once more of the few rare and ambitious scholars—feels her education inferior to that of the young man of the same set, and thus inferior to the mental training of her probable husband. The foundations of his knowledge lie deeper, and the whole structure is built up in a more systematic way. This is true of everyone who has passed through a gymnasium, and how much more is it true of those who have gone through the university! Law, medicine, divinity, engineering, and the academic studies of the prospective teacher are in Germany all based essentially upon a scholarly training, and are thus, first of all, factors of general education—powers to widen the horizon of the intellect. All this is less true in America; the lawyer, the physician, the teacher, the engineer, obtain excellent preparation for the profession; but in a lower degree his studies continue his general culture and education; and the elective system allows him to anticipate the professional training even in college. And, on the other side, as for the business man who may have gone through college with a general education in view—how much, or better, how little of his culture can be kept alive? Commerce and industry, finance and politics absorb him, and the beautiful college time becomes a dream; the intellectual energies, the factors of general culture become rusty from disuse; while she, the fortunate college girl, remains in that atmosphere of mental interests and inspiration, where the power she has gained remains fresh through contact with books. The men read newspapers, and, after a while, just when the time for marriage approaches, she is his superior, through and through, in intellectual refinement and spiritual standards. And all this we claim in the case of the man who has had a college education; but the probability is very great that he has not had even that. The result is a marriage in which the woman looks down upon the culture of her husband; and, as the girl instinctively feels that it is torture to be the wife of a man whom she does not respect, she hesitates, and waits, and

shrinks before the thought of entering upon a union that has so few charms.

And can we overlook another side of the delightful college time? No noise of the bustling world disturbed the peace of the college campus; no social distinctions influenced the ideal balance of moral and intellectual and æsthetic energies; it was an artificial world in which our young friends lived during the most beautiful years of their life. Can we be surprised that they instinctively desire to live on in this peculiar setting of the stage, with all its Bengal lights and its self centered interests? They feel almost unconsciously that all this changes when they marry, when they are mistresses of a household—a situation which, perhaps, means narrowness and social limitation. They feel that it would be like an awakening from a lofty dream. There is no need to awake; the life in the artificial setting of remote ideals can be continued, if they attach themselves, not to a husband and children, but to clubs and committees, to higher institutions and charity work, to art and literature; if they remain thus in a world where everything is so much more ideal than in that ungainly one in which children may have the whooping cough.

Of course all these are not motives that prohibit marriage; they may not even, in any individual case, work as conscious considerations; they are only subconscious energies, which show their effects merely if you consider the large groups; they are the little forces, the accumulation of which pushes the balance of motives perhaps so little that they remain unnoticed by the girl who is undecided whether to accept him; and yet they are efficient.


The college studies do not merely widen the horizon; they give to many a student a concrete scholarly interest, and that is, of course, still truer of the professional training. The woman who studies medicine or natural science, music or painting, perhaps even law or divinity, can we affront her with the suggestion, which would be an insult to the man, that all her work is so superficial that she will not care for its continuation as soon as she undertakes the duties of a married woman? Or ought we to imply that she is so conceited as to believe that she is able to do what no man would dare hope for himself;

that is, to combine the professional duties of the man with the not less complex duties of the woman? She knows that the intensity of her special interest must suffer; that her work must become a superficial side interest; that she has for it but rare leisure hours; and no one can blame her, however much she may love her own home, for loving still more the fascinating work for which she was trained.

All these tendencies are now psychologically re-enforced by other factors which have nothing to do with the higher education as such, but are characteristic of the situation of the woman in general. The American girl, well or carelessly educated, lives in the midst of social enjoyments, of cultured interests, of flirtations, and of refinements—what has she to hope at all from the change which marriage brings? Well, the one without whom her heart would break may have appeared—there is then no use of further discussion. But it is more probable that he has not appeared, while she, in the meanwhile, flirts with half a dozen men, of whom one is so congenial, and another such a brilliant wit, and the third such a promising and clever fellow; the fourth is rich, and the fifth she has known since her childhood, and the sixth, with the best chances, is such a dear, stupid little thing. What has she really to gain from a revolution of her individual fate? Is there anything open to her which was closed so far? Between the social freedom of a German girl and a German wife there is not that gulf which separates the two groups, for instance, in France; and yet the change from the single to the married life is an absolute one. Even in Germany, the joys of girlhood have something of the provisional in their character, like the temporary filling of a time of preparation for the real life. In this country the opposite prevails. Every foreigner sees with amazement the social liberty of the young girl, and admires no great American invention more than the unique system of the chaperon. He is thus hardly surprised that the American girl almost hides the fact when she becomes engaged; she has to give up so many fine things; a period almost of resignation has to begin, and no new untried social enjoyments are in view. But the American girl has not only no new powers to expect; she has in marriage a positive function before her,

which she, again unlike her European sister, considers, on the whole, a burden; the care of the household. I do not mean that the German woman is enraptured with delight at the prospect of scrubbing a floor; and I know, of course, how many American women are model housekeepers, how the farmers' wives, especially, have their pride in it, and how often spoiled girls heroically undertake housekeeping with narrow means, and that, too, much more often than in Germany, without the help of servants. And yet, there remains a difference of general attitude which the social psychologist cannot overlook. The whole atmosphere is here filled with the conscious or unconscious theory that housework is somewhat commonplace, a sort of necessary evil which ought to be reduced to a minimum. I do not ask whether that is not perhaps correct; I insist only that this feeling is much stronger here than in Germany, and that it must thus work against domestic life. I point merely to a few symptoms of this phenomenon. I think, for instance, of the boarding house life of married people, an anti-domestic custom which has such wide extension in America, and which is not only unknown, but utterly inconceivable in Germany. But also where a house is kept, the outsider has the feeling that the young wife enjoys her home as the basis of family life and as a social background, but that she is not trained to enjoy it as a field of domestic activity. The German girl anticipates from marriage, and not as its smallest enjoyment, the possession of a household after her own domestic tastes, and according to her talent for housework. Her whole home education is a preparation for this, and here the German mother finds a large share of her duties. All this may be, in a way, an unpractical scheme; it may be wasted energy; it may be better to learn those functions in a more mature age, in which the mind approaches them more theoretically; but this at least is certain, that the German way develops a more instinctive inclination toward the home life.

The general American tendency to consider housework as a kind of necessary evil, which as such cannot appeal to those who have free choice, is not less evident in the lower strata of the community. The conviction of every American girl that it is dignified to work in the mill, but **undignified** to be a cook



in any other family, would never have reached its present intensity if an anti-domestic feeling were not in the background. Exactly the same tendency appears, therefore, when work for the parents is in question. The laborer's daughter has, of course, not such a complete theory as the banker's daughter; but that it is dull to sit in the kitchen and look after the little sister, she too knows. In consequence, she also rushes to the outside life as saleswoman, as industrial laborer, as office worker; it is so exciting and interesting; it is the richer life. The study of the special cases shows, of course, that there are innumerable factors involved; but if we seek for the most striking features of woman's work, here and abroad, from a more general survey of the subject, it would seem that the aim of the German woman is to further the interests of the household, and the American woman to escape from the household.


Germany, with its very condensed population, was not able to do without the help of female muscle in running the economic machine; America, with its thin population and its great natural richness, does not really need this. In Germany almost a fourth of the women are at work; in America hardly more than a tenth. Above all, in Germany the women are doing the hard work; two and a half millions being engaged in agriculture against half a million here, of whom the greater part are negroes. The condition of the country as a whole does not demand woman's aid; man's labor can support the households of this country, and, economically, the country would be better off if female labor were almost entirely suppressed, both by prejudice and by institutions, since it lowers the wages of the men, and wastes domestic energies which, in a more intensified effort, would save the more. If, in spite of these economic conditions, woman's labor other than of a domestic character has become a socially necessary factor, it must have been, first of all, because the American woman feels that it is easier to perform the labor of the man than to make an increased domestic effort. It is the disinclination to domestic cares that has slowly created the present situation, and this situation itself, with its resulting distribution of wages, has necessarily the effect of re-enforcing this motive,

and of pushing the woman from the hearth to the mill and the salesroom, the office and the class room.

I have mentioned merely mental factors which are to be taken into account in their subconscious co-operation against family life; but the mental strain and excitement to which young girls are subjected, and the lack of social restraint, the constant hurry, and, above all, the intellectual over tension must influence the nervous system, and the nervous system must influence the whole organization of that sex which nature, after all, has made the weaker one. The foreigner cannot see these charming American girls without a constant feeling that there is something unhealthy in their nervous make-up, an over irritation, a pathological tension, not desirable for the woman who is preparing herself to be the mother of healthy children.

If we will consider the social background, this general social situation, we shall perhaps see the problem of higher education from another point of view, we shall begin to feel that under these conditions, which in themselves work so clearly against the home, it must be doubly dangerous to re-enforce those tendencies in woman's higher education which, as such, impel toward a celibacy of spirit; and we foreigners ask ourselves then instinctively, "Is the woman's question really solved here in the most ideal way?"

The answer which every one of my American friends, male and female, has ready on his lips is very simple. Can you deny, they ask, that the woman whom you accuse is a higher type of human being than any other? Do you want her to be untrue to her ideals, to seek marriage just for marriage's sake, instead of waiting for the man of her highest hopes? But such answers do not help me at all. It may be that I am willing to concede that place of honor to the individual girl here, in comparison with the girl of other nations, but the real problem cannot be even approached as long as the individual is in question. Here lies the point where, according to German convictions, the shortcomings of American civilization arise: to the American mind the community is a multitude of individuals, to the German mind, it is above all a unity. The American sees in the state an accumulation of elements of



which each ought to be as perfect as possible; the German sees in it an organism in which each element ideally fulfills its role, only in so far as it adjusts itself to the welfare and perfection of the whole. It is the atomistic idea of the community as against the organic one; the naturalistic aspect as against the historical; the state as a sandhill where every grain is independent of every other, against the state as a living being where every cell is in internal connection with every other. If it were really the goal of civilization to inspire the individuals that are now alive with as high aims as possible, the American system would be, at least with regard to the women, an ideal one; but if, to mention at first this single point, such a system works against the creation of substitutes for the individuals who have outlived their life, and thus destroys in the nation the power of rejuvenation, it is clear that the goal was wrongly chosen, and that the standard of perfection cannot be made dependent merely upon personal achievement.

Indeed, not the slightest reproach attaches to the individual girl who does not wish to marry because her education and her social surroundings have given her ideals which she can fulfill only in celibacy; she stands individually much higher than the other, who with the same views of life nevertheless marries, and perhaps becomes untrue to her ideals, sacrificing her lofty scholarly ambitions for mere idle comfort. But the reproach must be directed against the community which gives to the girls an education and an inspiration which lead to such a conflict, and thus antagonize the natural energies of a healthy nation. Such a system is made according to an artificial ideal; there is in the world of experience no individual which rests and reposes in or on itself—the natural unity is the family. Every system of public spirit which in its final outcome raises the individuals, but lowers the families, is antagonistic to the true civilization of the people, and its individualistic, brilliant achievements are dearly bought illusions of success. No one will dare say to a woman, This is the best, but you, for one, ought to be satisfied with the second best. But we have the right to demand from the community that the woman be taught to consider as the really best for her, what is in the

highest interests of the whole of society, even if it be second best for the individual.

What can be done? Is it necessary to lower the standard of woman's education in all levels of society in order to re-enforce the family feeling? Must we throw away all that is achieved for the self preservation of the race? or is there possibly a way to maintain this glorious individual perfection, and yet to serve the purposes of the organic community? But the answer to this practical question may be postponed until we have considered, more briefly, the other factor to which I have already referred. I affirmed that in Germany all the movements in the field of the woman question are not only in harmony with, and in the interest of, the family, but that, above all, the whole public life bears, as a matter of course, the stamp of the man. That is, in my opinion, the second great difference. The American system injures the national organism, not only because it antagonizes the family life, and thus diminishes the chances for the future bearers of the national civilization, but it has, secondly, the tendency to feminize the whole higher culture, and thus to injure the national civilization itself.

If I speak of public life here, I do not mean politics in the technical sense. The arguments for and against the participation of women in politics, the reasons for and against woman suffrage, are certainly of a peculiar kind; I have often listened to both sides in these discussions, and have always, as long as one side was pleading its cause, felt strongly in favor of the other side. If I am, on the whole, opposed to woman suffrage, it is because it belongs to those factors which we have discussed; it would help to draw the interests of individual women away from domestic life. But I do not think that it would have a serious bearing on that point which we have now to consider, the effemination of public life; politics would certainly be influenced as to its character if woman suffrage existed everywhere; it would, in some ways, probably suffer through hysterical sentimentality, illogical impulses, and the lack of consistent obedience to abstract law; but it would probably be, on the other hand, in many respects ennobled and moralized, softened and elevated. There would be, on



the whole, no serious disadvantage to be feared for political life itself, because the men would always remain the backbone of the political parties. Politics in America so immediately and directly penetrates man's whole welfare, his commerce and industry, his income and his expenses, his rights and his duty, that there is no danger that he would ever allow the political life to pass from his hands into those of the woman; a real effeminizing of political life is thus no probable danger. Of course, so long as only a few of the less developed states of the union have introduced woman suffrage, the question is of no practical importance.

The public life that I have in mind is the public expression of the ideal energies, the striving for truth and beauty, for morality and religion, for education and social reform, and their embodiment, not in the home, but in the public consciousness. In Germany no one of these functions of public life is without the support and ennobling influence of active women, but decidedly the real bulk of the work is done by men; they alone give to it character and direction, and their controlling influence gives to this whole manifoldness of national aims its strenuousness and unity; to carry these into the millions of homes and to make them living factors in the family, is the great task of the women there. Here, on the other hand, the women are the real supporters of the ideal endeavors; in not a few fields, their influence is the decisive one; in all fields, this influence is felt, and the whole system tends ever more and more to push the men out and the women in. Theater managers claim that eighty five per cent of their patrons are women. No one can doubt that the same percentage would hold for those who attend art exhibitions, and even for those who read magazines and literary works in general, and we might as well continue with the same somewhat arbitrary figure. Can we deny that there are about eighty five per cent of women among those who attend public lectures, or who go to concerts, among those who look after public charities and the work of the churches? I do not remember ever to have been in a German art exhibition where at least half of those present were not men, but I do remember art exhibitions in Boston, New York, and Chicago where according to my actual

count the men in the hall were less than five per cent of those present. As a matter of course, the patron determines the direction which the development will take. As the political reader is more responsible for the yellow press than is the editor, so all the non political functions of public life must slowly take, under these conditions, the stamp of the feminine taste and type, which must have again the further effect of repelling man from it more and more. The result is an effemination of the higher culture, which is antagonistic to the development of a really representative national civilization, and which is not less unsound and one sided than the opposite extreme of certain Oriental nations where the whole culture is man's work, and the woman a slave in the harem.


The woman, and sometimes even the indolent man who wants to get rid of the responsibility of something he does not care about, says simply that this is all right. As the facts show—they argue—that the woman is not inferior in intellectual and æsthetic energies, not inferior in earnestness and enthusiasm, why not entrust her with the national culture, why not give her full charge of art and literature, education and science, morality and religion—man has a sufficient number of other things to do. But it is simply not true, and cannot be made true by any dialectics, that the minds of man and woman are equal, and can be substituted the one for the other, without changing the entire character of the mental product. It is not true that men and women can do the same work in every line. Earnestness certainly the women have. However large the number of those who may meet their public duties in a spirit of sport or amusement or ennui, the majority take these duties seriously; and the college girl especially comes home with a large amount of earnestness in the cause of reform and of the higher functions of the national life. The only misfortune is that earnestness alone is not physical energy, that good will is not force, that devotion is not power. But her lack of physical power and strength would be less dangerous to the undertaking if her intellectual ability were equal to that of the man. But here the social psychologist can feel no shadow of a doubt that neither co-education nor the equality of opportunities has done anything to eliminate

those characteristic features of the female mind which are well known the world over, and which it is our blessing not to have lost. The laws of nature are stronger than the theories of men.

To express the matter in a psychological formula, on which the observations of all times and all nations have agreed; in the female mind the contents of consciousness have the tendency to fuse into a unity, while they remain separated in the man's mind. Both tendencies have their merits and their defects; but, above all, they are different, and make women superior in some functions, and man superior in some others. The immediate outcome of that feminine mental type is woman's tact and æsthetic feeling, her instinctive insight, her enthusiasm, her sympathy, her natural wisdom and morality; but, on the other side, also, her lack of clearness and logical consistency, her tendency to hasty generalization, her mixing of principles, her undervaluation of the abstract and of the absent, her lack of deliberation, her readiness to follow her feelings and emotions. Even these defects can beautify the private life, can make our social surroundings attractive, and soften and complete the strenuous, earnest, and consistent public activity of the man;—but they do not give the power to meet these public duties without man's harder logic. If the whole national civilization should receive the feminine stamp, it would become powerless and without decisive influence on the world's progress.

On the surface, it seems otherwise. Everyone thinks at once of some most talented women, whose training in strenuous thought is not inferior to that of men, and everyone knows that our female students are as good scholars as the male ones. Those few exceptions I need not discuss here; the genius is *sui generis*; but the case of the female university students does not at all suggest to me a belief in their intellectual equality with men. Certainly the average female student ranks as a pupil equal to the young man, but that does not exclude the fact that her achievements and his are profoundly different; she is more studious, and thus balances certain undeniable shortcomings, and the subjects in which she excels are other than those in which he is most interested.

Above all,—and here I touch an important point too much neglected,—the difference between the students appears relatively small here, because the historic development of the American college has brought it about that the whole higher study bears far too much the type of the feminine attitude towards scholarship; and this is the reason why the scholarly outcome has so far been on the whole unsatisfactory. In Germany, the university professors who are opposed to the admission of women to the university take for granted that the women will be industrious and good pupils, but insist that they will lower the standard of the really scholarly work, because they will take, in accordance with the feminine mind, a passive, receptive, uncritical attitude toward knowledge, while the whole importance of German scholarly life lies in its active criticism, its strength of research and inquiry. All that the German professors now fear from the intrusion of women was precisely the habitual, characteristic weakness of the American college until a decade or two ago. These colleges were excellent as places for the distribution of knowledge, but undeveloped as places of research; they were controlled by a passive belief in intellectual authorities, but little prepared to advance the knowledge of the world; in short, they took the receptive, feminine attitude—no wonder that the women could do as well as the men. But in recent time the American university strives with vigorous efforts toward the realization of the higher ideal; the test of the question whether the dogmatic mind of the average woman will prove equal to that of the average man, in a place controlled by a spirit of critical research, has simply not been made so far. If I except the few rare talents, which have been left out of our discussion, since they do not require that systems be adjusted to them, I cannot say that I have gained the impression that the spirit of research would be safe in the hands of the woman. But what a calamity for the country if this great epoch in the life of the universities were ruined by any concessions to the feminine type of thinking! The nearer America approaches a state of university work that corresponds to the highest achievements of European universities; the more it develops real universities beyond the collegiate institutions for recep-




tive study; the more the equality of the two sexes must disappear in them,—the more must they become, like the European institutions, places for men, where only the exceptional woman of special talent can be welcomed, while the average woman must attend the woman's college with its receptive scholarship. If we keep up an artificial equality through the higher development of the present day, American intellectual work will be kept down by the women, and will never become a world power.

How differently, when compared with that of men of the same class, the female mind works, we see daily around us when we turn our eyes from the educated level down toward the half educated multitude. Here we are confronted with the woman who antagonizes serious medicine through her belief in patent medicines and quackery; the woman who undermines moral philosophy through her rushing into spiritualism and every superstition of the day; the woman who injures the progress of thought and reform by running with hysterical zeal after every new fad and fashion introduced with a catchy phrase. A lack of respect for really strenuous thought characterizes woman in general. Dilettantism is the keynote. The half educated man is much more inclined to show an instinctive respect for trained thought, and to abstain from opinions where he is ignorant. But the half educated woman cannot discriminate between the superficial and the profound, and, without the slightest hesitation, she effuses, like a bit of gossip, her views on Greek art or on Darwinism or on the human soul, between two spoonfuls of ice cream. Even that is almost refreshing as a softening supplement to the manly work of civilization, but it would be a misfortune if such a spirit were to gain the controlling influence.

That such effemination makes alarming progress is quickly seen if we watch the development of the teacher's profession. I have seldom the honor of agreeing with the pedagogical scholars of this country, but, on this point, it seems to me, we are all of the same opinion: the disappearance of the man from the class room, not only of the lower schools, but even of the high schools, is distinctly alarming. The primary school is to-day absolutely monopolized by women teachers,

and in the high school they have the overwhelming majority. The reason for this is clear: since the woman does not have to support a family, she can work for a smaller salary, and thus, as in the mills, the men tend more and more toward the places for which women are not strong enough; in the schools, too, female competition must, if no halt is called, bring down salaries to a point from which the supporter of the family must retreat. It would be, of course, in both cases better if the earnings were larger, and more men were thus enabled to support families, while in the schoolroom, as in the mill, the female competitor brings the earnings down to a point where the man is too poor to marry her,—a most regrettable state of affairs. But the economic side is here not so important as the effect on civilization. Even granting, what I am not at all ready to grant, that woman's work, preferred because it is cheaper to the community, is just as good as man's work, can it be without danger that the male youth of this country, up to the eighteenth year, are educated by unmarried women? Is it a point to be discussed at all that nascent manhood requires for right development manly inspiration, direction, and control? Where will this end? That very soon no male school teacher of good quality will survive is certain, but there is no reason to expect that it will stop there. We have already to-day more than sixty per cent of girls among the upper high school classes, and this disproportion must increase. Must we not expect that in the same way in which the last thirty years have handed the teacher's profession over to the women, the next thirty years will put the ministry, the medical calling, and, finally, the bar also into her control? To say that this is not to be feared because it has never happened anywhere before is no longer an argument, because this development of our schools is also new in the history of civilization. There was never before a nation that gave the education of the young into the hands of the lowest bidder.

The comic papers prophesy alarming results for the man; while the woman teaches and preaches and argues before the court, he will have to do the cooking, mending, and nursing at home. That is absurd. There is enough room for the development of man in the present direction. Commerce and




industry, politics and war, will furnish no lack of opportunities for the employment of all his energies; but one thing is certain: he will be a stranger to the higher culture of the nation. And this condition, in which the professional callings, the whole influence on the development of the younger generation, all art and science and morality and religion, come to be moulded and stamped by women, is precisely the one which some call equality of the sexes. The truth is evident, here as everywhere, that equality cannot be brought about artificially. To force equality always means merely shifting the inequality from one region to another, and if the primary inequality was the natural one, the artificial substitute must be dangerous if it be more than a temporary condition. Nature cannot act otherwise, because nature cannot tolerate real equality. Equality means in the household of nature a wasted repetition of function; equality, therefore, represents everywhere the lower stage of the development, and has to go over into differentiation of functions. Nature cannot be dodged, and the growth of nations cannot escape natural laws. To say that man and woman must be equal demands a natural correction by bringing in the differentiation of function at some other point: you may decree equality to-day, but nature takes care that we shall have, in consequence, a new kind of inequality to-morrow. The nation has decreed that the differences of sex shall be ignored in education, and in the choice of callings, and the outcome is a greater inequality than in any other country, an inequality in which men are turned out of the realms of higher culture.

But, as soon as we take the point of view of social philosophy, we understand at once the deeper meaning of the whole phenomenon and its probable development. This cry for equality, with its necessary results in a new form of crass inequality, then manifests itself as a great scheme of nature in the interests of the conservation of the race, in keeping with the special conditions under which the nation has received its growth. Under the ordinary conditions, the material opening and settling of a country move parallel with the development of the inner culture, and the man is thus able to meet the requirements of this twofold public task; he gives

his energies to the material and political necessities so long as the mental and spiritual culture is low, and in proportion as he is freed from the rudimentary needs that pertain to the support of the nation, he turns to the inner culture, that of education and art, and so on, while the woman, at every stage, cares for the private life of the family. In America, this normal course was changed, because the material opening of the country, the unfolding of its natural resources, coincided with the possession of a most complex inner culture brought over from Europe ready made, not grown of the soil. Hence a new division of labor had to be discovered to meet those material exigencies which demanded man's full energy, and man's side function, the work of the higher culture also. This side function had to be assumed by the woman; she had to care for the inner culture of the nation, that the arms of the man might be free for the more immediate work, the settling of the continent, the political organization, and the development of the national wealth. This was, under these unusual conditions, the only way of preserving and fostering the high European culture; if women had not temporarily taken this function from man, it would have been wholly lost in the wear and tear of the commercial and political adolescence of the nation. It was, then, the special mission of the American women to become the bearer of the higher, inherited culture of the nation by the artificial development of an intellectual superiority over the man.

But if this be true, it is clear that such vicarious functioning must cease as soon as those two peculiar conditions should arise which manifestly exist at the present time. The first of these conditions is that this female superiority should reach a point where it begins to effeminate the higher culture, and where it becomes antagonistic to family life; thus positively injuring the organism of the race. The other condition is that the material establishment of the country should have attained its completion; the ground mastered, the sources of national wealth sufficiently developed to allow room for man's effort in other directions. No doubt this condition also is fulfilled to-day; the west is opened; the whole continent is economically subjugated; a net of transportation covers the





whole land; wealth abounds in a sufficient number of families, down to the second and third generations, to insure the building up of a leisure class; and the time has come when the American man can take his share, like the European, in the spiritual culture of his country. If the American man will but turn his real energies to the world of spiritual goods, then the two great evils which we have discussed will both be cured by the one remedy, and at one time, while the woman will not in any respect be the loser. If man takes the part that belongs to him in the higher culture, this, instead of being emasculated, will show that perfect blending of human energies in which the strength of the man will be softened by pure womanhood, and, at the same time, the woman, who will feel the greater strength in the man of equal culture, will shrink no longer from marriage, and will feel attracted by that truer companionship in which the real labor is divided; the public function given to the man, the domestic function to the daughter and sister, to the wife and mother. That is the state at which we aim in Germany; much has still to be done there to give to the average German woman the thorough education of the American; but that will soon come. In any case, even the best training of the woman must support in Germany the family idea, and the man will continue to be the mainstay of the ideal culture. We Germans feel sure that this will not be endangered, even if we fully imitate the splendid college life of American girls. Therefore, no one can suggest that woman's education in this country ought to take any steps backward; all the glorious opportunities must remain open, and only one practical change must come in response to the urgent needs of our period; the American man must raise his level of general culture. In short, the woman's question is in this country, as ultimately perhaps everywhere, the man's question. Reform the man, and all the difficulties disappear.

We know that in Paradise Eve followed the seducing voice of the serpent, and ate the fruit from the tree of knowledge, and gave of it unto Adam. The college bred Eve has no smaller longing for the apple of knowledge; but the serpent has become modern, and his advice has grown more serpent like than ever: "Eat of the apple, but give not unto Adam

